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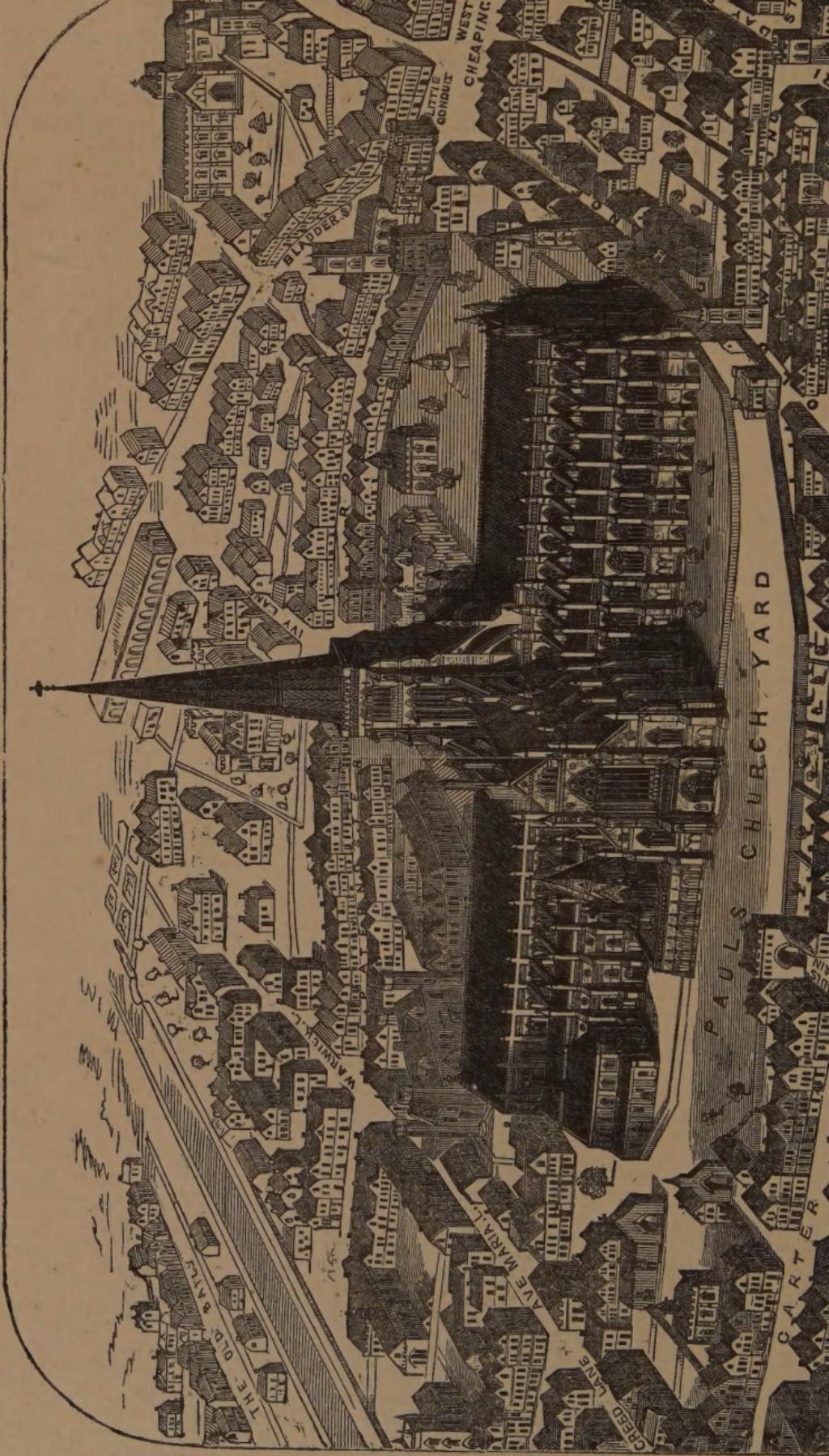
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CHAPTERS

In the History

OF

OLD S. PAUL'S.

BY

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PREFACE.

FOR some time past my hours of leisure, which have been only too few and far between, have been devoted to researches in the History of the Cathedral of S. Paul. I have enjoyed for twenty years the great honour of being a Member of the Cathedral Body and Keeper of its Records, and each succeeding year has but increased my love for the stately Sanctuary and its solemn Services, and augmented my interest in its venerable Archives. In the present volume I have endeavoured to embody in a popular form some of the results of my studies, in the hope that many who are repelled by Original Documents expressed in mediæval Latin, may read these desultory Chapters in the History of Old S. Paul's, and share with me in the absorbing interest which gathers round the subject.

Where I could tell the Story of S. Paul's in the words of some old Chronicler, I have always preferred his quaint phrases to any sentences of my own: at the same time I have freely used the documents and other materials gathered together in my previous books upon the History of S. Paul's,* and I have done so with the less hesitation because the first of these was privately printed, and the second was issued only to the Members of a learned Society.

I must ask indulgence for the familiar cicerone style of Chapters IV. and V.: it seemed likely to make the stroll about the renowned Cathedral

"With glistening spires and pinnacles adorn'd"†

less tedious if the Reader and the Author walked arm in arm together.

* *Registrum Statutorum et Consuetudinum Ecclesiae Cathedrales Sancti Pauli Londinensis*, 4to., London, 1873, privately printed for the Dean and Chapter; and *Documents illustrating the History of S. Paul's Cathedral*, 4to., London, 1880, issued by the Camden Society.

† *Paradise Lost*, Book iii. v. 550.



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“ But let my due feet never fail
To walk the studious cloysters pale,
And love the high-embowed roof,
With antick pillars massy proof,
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light :
There let the pealing organ blow,
To the full-voic’d quire below,
In service high and anthems clear,
As may with sweetness, through mine ear,
Dissolve me into ecstasies,
And bring all heaven before mine eyes.”

MILTON, *Il Penseroſo*, 155—166.

ERRATA.

p. 15. In *Archæologia*, xliv. 63, the inscription on the bowl is rendered "The Pilgrim Parasco's;" the bowl itself is not considered to be ancient. See Mr. Ralston's paper.

p. 98, l. 5, for "Lutterworth" we should probably read "Hipswell, about a mile from Richmond in Yorkshire." *Fasciculus Zizaniorum*, xi.

p. 167, l. 13. Palm Sunday cannot occur in May.

p. 192, l. 7. The difficulty disappears when it is remembered that Feb. 22, 1550, occurred after June 24, 1550; the year commencing in March.

p. 256, l. 9, for "1642" read "1641."

p. 258, l. 6, for "bill" read "ordinance."

p. 262, l. 17, after "1640" add "(O.S. = 1641)." , l. 2 from bottom, after "1642" add "(O.S. = 1643)."



CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF RELIGION IN LONDON.

BON the summit of a hill, sloping gently on its southern side to the broad waters of the Thames, and on its western to the rapid stream of the Fleet, stands, and has stood for many centuries, a church dedicated to the great Apostle of the Gentiles. When was it first founded? Whose voice first proclaimed the Holy Name of JESUS to the pagan inhabitants of ancient London? Who was the first Apostle of this, the very heart of England?

The compilers of the Statute Book of S. Paul's Cathedral were not troubled with any doubts about the matter. They reply, with great definiteness of language, on this wise: "In the year from the Incarnation of the Lord one hundred and eighty-five, at the request of Lucius the King of Greater Britain, which now is called England, there were sent from Eleutherius the Pope to the aforesaid King two illustrious doctors, Fagnus and Dumanus, who should in-

cline the heart of the King and of his subject-people to the unity of the Christian Faith, and should consecrate to the honour of the one true and supreme God the temples which had been dedicated to various and false deities."* The Chronicler proceeds to record that these holy men, taught by the Spirit of God, founded three metropolitical sees, and that the first of these was London.

But, alas, the exact study of history remits these positive statements to the land of fable. "King Lucius and the missionaries of his Court have quietly withdrawn into the dim region of Christian mythology."† Almost the only relic still surviving which throws any light upon the religion of early London is the little Altar of Diana found on the site of Goldsmiths' Hall, and still preserved as the choicest ornament of the Court Room of that wealthy Guild. Clouds and mist hang over the early history of the Christianising of the capital. August forms float across the haze, but we cannot name them nor discern their features.

It must be remembered that we are not now considering the larger question of the Christianising of England, but are limiting ourselves to that of the evangelisation of London. If, as Dean Milman says, "the conversion of King Lucius is a legend," we must not forget that he adds also these memorable words,

* *Statuta S. Pauli*, p. 10.

† Dean Milman's *Annals of S. Paul's*, p. 3. See also the first chapter of Canon Bright's *Chapters on English Church History*.

"There can be no doubt that conquered and half-civilised Britain, like the rest of the Roman Empire, gradually received, during the second and third centuries, the faith of Christ. S. Helena, the mother of Constantine, probably imbibed the first fervour of those Christian feelings which wrought so powerfully in the Christianity of her age in her native Britain."* And certainly, at the great Council of Arles, held in the year 314, Restitutus, Bishop of London, appears amongst the list of prelates who were present : he was succeeded, many years afterwards, by a certain Faustadius, Bishop of Britain in 431.

Jocelin of Furness, a monk of the twelfth century, has indeed compiled a list of fourteen metropolitans of London. But upon this catalogue, Canon Stubbs† observes that "it is a most uncritical performance ;" adding, however, that "the compiler evidently acted in good faith, and put down no more than he found in his authorities."

Of the latest of these prelates, Geoffrey the Chronicler relates that when the Saxons drove the British fugitives into Wales and Cornwall, Theon, Bishop of London, and Thadioc, of York, fled into Wales with the Archbishop of Caerleon and their surviving clergy.‡ The traditional date of this flight is 586.

With the close of the sixth century we reach the æra, memorable for ever in the history of our country, the æra of the great revival of religion wrought by the

* *Latin Christianity*, ii. 226.

† Canon Stubbs' *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, p. 152, where the catalogue may be seen.

‡ Canon Bright, p. 33, citing Geoffrey, viii. 2.

band of Christian missionaries headed by the Apostle of England.

Soon after Easter, 597, Augustine and his companions crossed the Channel. They landed at Ebbsfleet, near the grand Roman castle at Richborough, which crowns a slight eminence between Sandwich and Pegwell Bay. The little army of forty men advanced, bearing a silver cross and a painted panel upon which was depicted the Crucified Jesus.* Ethelbert, the sincere and noble-hearted King, receives them generously and hospitably ; he finds that he has entertained angels unawares ; he obtains a rich reward, for he is converted ; and on Whitsun Eve, according to the Canterbury tradition, he is baptised. In due time he becomes the founder of the Cathedral Church of S. Paul. The Manor of Tillingham, one of those with which the royal bounty enriched the church, still remains in the possession of the Dean and Chapter. S. Gregory had desired that London should become an archiepiscopal see, Augustine thought otherwise, and reserved the primatial dignity for Canterbury. In the year 604, says Ralph de Diceto, the historian and Dean of S. Paul's,† "Ethelbert the King built the Church of S. Paul, London," and he goes on to record that Augustine himself consecrated Mellitus as Bishop of the see.

And where in ancient London did Mellitus call together the assembly of the faithful ? Did he find a

* See Bright, pp. 45, 50, and Dean Stanley's admirable essay in his *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*.

† Whose *Historical Works* have recently been edited by Professor Stubbs.

heathen sanctuary where S. Paul's now stands, surrounded with umbrageous trees ; and did he, in the shadowing wood, find a meet shrine for God's true worship ?

“The groves were God’s first temples. Ere man learned
To hew the shaft, and lay the architrave,
And spread the roof above them—ere he framed
The lofty vault, to gather and roll back
The sound of anthems ; in the darkling wood,
Amidst the cool and silence, he knelt down,
And offered to the Mightiest solemn thanks
And supplication. For his simple heart
Might not resist the sacred influences
Which, from the stilly twilight of the place,
And from the gray old trunks that high in heaven
Mingled their mossy boughs, and from the sound
Of the invisible breath that swayed at once
All their green tops, stole over him, and bowed
His spirit with the thought of boundless power
And inaccessible majesty.”*

“The first cathedral of this see,” says Maitland, “was built in the pretorian camp of the Romans, and destroyed under Diocletian.” There are many examples in England of churches standing in the midst of ancient earthworks. “This cathedral,” he continues, “was rebuilt under Constantine, and again destroyed by the Saxons in their times of Paganism ; after which it was restored by Ethelbert.”

No records remain which can give us any certain information as to the earliest sanctuary which crowned the Pauline Hill. Perhaps it was but a very simple structure of rough trees, hardly shaped by the axe,

* W. C. Bryant, *A Forest Hymn.*

like that strange method of construction of which an example still remains at Greenstead, near Epping. The woods and forests near to London would have supplied abundant material for such a purpose. Perhaps it was a humble chapel built of stone, scarcely more elaborate than the rude cells at Ripon and at Hexham. No tradition, however, remains, which can supply us with a sketch of the earliest fabric.

We do not even know the form and extent of Ethelbert's Cathedral. Bede, and Ralph de Diceto* following him, confine themselves to the fewest possible words : "Ethelbert the King built the Church of S. Paul in London." Dean Milman† applies to it a single epithet : it was "magnificent." Professor Owen built up the *Dinornis* from a single bone, but the most skilful architect could scarcely reconstruct Ethelbert's Cathedral from a single epithet. Nor would it help him much were we to add another brief statement, that Bishop Erkenwald, of whom more will be said presently, "bestowed great cost on the fabric thereof."‡

Fire, always the bitter foe of S. Paul's, would not spare the work of the royal founder ; for in 961, the *Saxon Chronicle* relates, "The monastery of S. Paul's was burnt, and in the same year restored."§ And again, in 1087 or 1088, for the authorities are not agreed, the City of London and its cathedral were

* *Historical Works*, i. 107.

† Milman, *Annals of S. Paul's*, p. 9.

‡ Dugdale, *S. Paul's*, p. 3.

§ Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 2.

both consumed by the flames. The *Chroniculi S. Pauli** say that the great conflagration happened on the seventh day of July in the year 1087.

But although little or nothing is known as to the form and extent of the primitive sanctuary of the first Christian inhabitants of London, and although the later church of the generous Ethelbert has found no accurate and minute historian, Mellitus, the first bishop of London after the arrival of S. Augustine, stands out as a very real person, and as one who made his mark upon the history of the church. He appears conspicuously upon the broad canvas of the venerable Bede.

Mellitus was consecrated by Augustine himself in the year 604, and filled successively the sees of London and of Canterbury. He seems to have arrived in England about the close of the year 601.† Few letters of the period are more interesting than that which Gregory wrote to Mellitus to instruct him in his dealing with the Christian converts.‡ They were to be dealt with very tenderly. Heathen temples were not necessarily to be destroyed ; they might be purged and hallowed for the true worship. “ You cannot cut off everything at once from rough natures. He who would climb to a height must ascend step by step; he cannot jump the whole way.” Outward enjoyments, and even feasts kept within due bounds, were by no means to be dis-

* Printed in *Documents, etc.*, p. 58.

† This history is excellently told in Bright’s *Early English Church History*, pp. 70 *et seq.*

‡ Bede, Book i. § 31.

couraged. Humble country folk were not to be deprived of their simple pleasures, but rather taught to use them moderately. The letter teems with good sense, and with abundant evidences of a kind and liberal heart.

Mellitus had converted King Sigebert I., or Sabert, who was Ethelbert's nephew, and Sabert took part with Ethelbert in the erection of S. Paul's. Some say that a Temple of Diana had once stood upon the summit of the hill : but the story is doubtful, and the evidence brought forward as to the bones of deer and cattle found in deep excavations here, and as to a building called *Camera Dianæ* or *Diana's Chamber* at no great distance, does not really throw light upon the question.

The good Bishop Mellitus did not always bask in the sunshine of royal favour ; for in due time, one-and-twenty years after his conversion, the noble Ethelbert died,* and was buried in S. Martin's porch within the Church of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, beside the body of Bertha his Queen. Eadbald, his son, did not walk in his father's steps ; he refused to embrace the faith of Christ, and Bede goes so far as to say that there were times when he gave way to fits of madness, and was oppressed with an unclean spirit. Sabert also died, and left his three sons, still pagans, to inherit his throne. They had somewhat dissembled during their father's lifetime, and kept their attachment to heathenism in the background ; but now, left to themselves, they openly

* Bede, ii. 5.

professed idolatry, and encouraged the people to serve idols. Bede tells us a characteristic story :* One day these impious sons of a godly father came to S. Paul's Church during the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. They saw the Bishop giving the Sacrament to the assembled people. "Puffed up with their barbarous folly, they said to him, 'Why do you not give to us also that white bread, as you used to do to our father Saba' (for so they were accustomed to call him), 'and as you still give it to the people in the church.' To whom the Bishop answered, 'If ye will be washed in that life-giving fount in which your father was washed, then ye may become partakers of that holy bread of which he was wont to be a partaker. But if ye despise the laver of life, ye are by no means able to receive the bread of life.' 'But,' said they, 'we will not enter that fount, for we do not know that we have need of it, but nevertheless we wish to be refreshed with that bread.' And when oftentimes and diligently they were admonished by him that no one might by any means partake of the most holy Oblation without the most holy purging [of baptism], they were moved to fury and said, 'If you will not consent to us in this so small a matter which we desire, you shall not remain in our province.' And accordingly they compelled him and his followers to depart from their kingdom." Mellitus being driven away from London, took counsel with his fellow-bishops Laurentius and Justus as to the course which should be adopted in this emergency. They decided that, for a

* Bede, ii. 5.

time at least, “until this tyranny was overpast,” it would be wise to withdraw from England. Mellitus and Justus retreated to France. But Bede is careful to relate that the wicked kings did not go unpunished, for marching out to battle against the nation of the West Saxons they were all slain and their army routed. The people, however, had relapsed into idolatry, and for forty years London was again plunged into heathen darkness.

Mellitus is sent for, and returns: but the people of London would not receive him, nor could King Eadbald restore to him his church. Idolatry was once more triumphant.

On the 2nd of February, 619, Archbishop Laurence died, and Mellitus succeeded him in the Archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury. And here we ought to leave him, as he no longer ruled over the See of London. A brief space, however, must be devoted to the concluding chapter of his life, in which, once more, we will follow the guidance of the Venerable Bede.* Mellitus laboured under a physical infirmity; in fact, he was afflicted with the gout: but though his malady sorely hindered his bodily activity, “his mind, with vigorous steps, joyful leapt over worldly things, and flew to love, to seek celestial things.” There was a terrible conflagration in Canterbury; the whole city was in danger of being consumed by fire; water was thrown upon the flames, but all in vain; they continued to spread with terrific power; the Church of the Four Crowned Martyrs, martyrs who had fallen

* Bede, Book ii. 7.

in the persecution of Diocletian, stood in the place where the fire raged most fiercely : thither the Prelate, though weighed down by his infirmities and the pains of sickness, bade his servants to carry him. Strong men had laboured to no purpose, to put out the flames—he would shew them the efficacy of prayer. He prayed fervently, and the wind which had been blowing from the south now turned to the north ; the flames were beaten back, and presently, the wind ceasing altogether, were entirely extinguished, and the city was saved.

This is the last recorded act of Mellitus. He ruled over the Church of Canterbury for five years, and departed to his rest on the 24th day of April, 624 : a day long observed with honour in the Church of London, as may be seen in its ancient Calendar.

Foremost amongst the early Bishops of London, and towering above them both in history and legend stands the sainted Prelate Erkenwald. Mellitus had been gathered to his fathers ; Cedda, brother of S. Chad of Lichfield, had succeeded him ; he, in his turn, had been followed by Wina. Fourth in succession,* Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated S. Erkenwald. He is said to have been of royal descent, his father, Offa, being King of East England. When but a boy he had heard Mellitus preach in London, and, if the words of the *Golden Legend* are to be taken literally, had even listened to the preaching of S. Augustine himself. Before he was

* The dates of consecration are : Mellitus, 604 ; Cedda, 654 ; Wina, 662 ; Erkenwald, 675. Canon Stubbs' *Registrum Sacrum*

raised to the episcopate, he had founded two famous monasteries : one for himself, at Chertsey in Surrey ; the other for his sister Ethelburga, at Barking in Essex.

Chertsey became one of the mitred abbeys, but its abbots, though regarded as spiritual barons, did not sit in Parliament. The Register of the Abbey is still preserved in the British Museum, and contains a charter of privileges granted by Pope Agatho, which was brought from Rome by Erkenwald himself. During the Danish wars in the latter part of the ninth century, the abbot, Beocca, a priest named Ethor, and ninety monks were slain, the church and monastery burnt, and the surrounding possessions laid waste. It was restored by Ethelwald, Bishop of Winchester. Many pages of Dugdale's *Monasticon** are filled with a record of the abbots of the house and with its charters. It shared the fate of other religious houses, was dissolved (at that time its gross rental was valued at £744 18s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.), and its site was granted to Sir William FitzWilliam.

In 1673, when Aubrey wrote, scarcely any of the old buildings of Chertsey Abbey remained. A few walls only were to be seen, and the streets of the town, he says, were raised by the ruins of the abbey. Even the Abbey House, erected with part of its materials, has been demolished. The walls of a large barn, an arched gateway, and a wall nearly opposite to it, are figured in the new edition of Brayley's *Surrey* (edited by Mr. Edward Walford), and in Mr. and Mrs.

* *Monasticon*, i. 422-435.

S. C. Hall's *Book of the Thames* as "The Remains of Chertsey Abbey;" and these authorities add that the graveyard is now a rich garden, and that the old fish-ponds, once so important an appendage to a religious house, are even now not without water. In Stukeley's time, among the garden-stuff one might "pick up handfuls of bits of bone at a time"—bones of abbots, great personages and monks, buried in numbers in the once famous church and cloisters of Chertsey.

Parts of the foundations of the old abbey church, which was about 270 feet in length, are yet to be seen, and there is a small fragment of pavement still *in situ*. The tessellated pavements of Chertsey were of rare beauty, representing scenes in the life of Richard Cœur de Lion, passages in the Story of Sir Tristram, the zodiacal signs, and the seasons or months. Portions of these are still preserved in private possession.

A small relic from its treasury also remains, for the British Museum contains an example of an offertory-dish of Northern manufacture, once belonging to the abbey, and dug up in its ruins at the beginning of this century. This vessel is a flat circular dish of nearly pure copper, with a very wide rim, bearing an inscription, which Mr. J. M. Kemble has rendered, "Offer, sinner." A discussion as to the exact age of the alms-dish is epitomised in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* (Art., Offertory Plates). The dates assigned to it vary from the ninth to the eleventh century.

Barking Monastery* is said by some writers to have

* Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i. 436-446.

been the earliest and the richest nunnery in England, but it can hardly maintain its claim to either of these designations, as Folkestone Nunnery was founded many years before it, and Shaftesbury and Sion were both wealthier. "It was a double foundation, like Whitby and others, having a separate area for the monks apart from the nuns' building, and even a separate chapel or oratory for each order."* The habit of the sisters, that of the Benedictines generally, is shown in a plate in Dugdale;† Lysons engravés the seal of the monastery and the ground-plan of the church. The nunnery was dissolved in 1539, and the site with its buildings was granted by Edward VI. to Edward Lord Clinton. A mutilated slab at the east end of the north aisle of Barking Church commemorating the names of Ælfgiva, abbess in the time of Edward the Confessor, and of Maurice, Bishop of London, was still extant in 1809, when an etching of it was published. It cannot now be discovered.‡ An ancient gateway, forming the principal entrance to the churchyard, still remains as a relic of the departed grandeur of this once stately abbey. The chamber over the gateway was the Chapel of the Holy Rood : a very interesting carving representing the Rood still, though it is much defaced, adorns the eastern wall of the chapel, on the north side of the site of the altar. Some recent excavations in the garden of the adjacent

* Canon Bright, p. 257.

† *Monasticon*, i. 443.

‡ I have searched carefully for it in the church, and have made many enquiries at Barking. Archdeacon Blomfield has most kindly joined in the search ; but, as yet, without success.

school-house* have brought to light the foundations of the Lady Chapel of the ancient church. The graves of two abbesses have been discovered, together with some fragments of carved stone (retaining traces of the original colouring), which may probably have formed part of a shrine of S. Erkenwald once adorning the sanctuary.

Not far from Barking, at Ilford, was a lepers' hospital governed by the society at Barking. A certain Mr. Agard gives a somewhat remarkable account of the mode of expulsion from this hospital. "It was my happe," he says, "to see once an abstracte out of the lygyar-book of Barking Nonnery, in Essex, in a gentleman's hande, now dead, and who shewed me, that the abbesse beinge accompanied with the Bishop of London, the Abbot of Stratford, the Deane of Paule's, and other great spyrytuall personnes, went to Ilforde to visit the hospytall theere founded for leepers . . . The manner of his disgradinge was thus, as I remember: he came attyred in his lyvery, but barefooted and bareheaded, *tend deposita*, that is, without a nightcap, and was set on his knees upon the stayres, benethe the altar, where he remained during all the time of mass. When mass was ended, the prieste disgraded him of orders, scraped his hands and his crown with a knife, took his booke from him, gave him a boxe on the chiek with the end of his fingers, and then thrust him out of the churche, where the officers

* Mr. King, the schoolmaster of Barking, has taken a most intelligent interest in these excavations, great part of which he has made with his own hands.

and people receyved him, and putt him into a carte, cryinge *Ha rou! Ha rou! Ha rou!* after him.”*

There is a letter extant† addressed by Sir Thomas Audley (afterwards Baron Audley of Walden in Essex, Lord Chancellor of England), to Secretary Cromwell, begging him to defer the visitation of Barking till they should meet and talk the matter over; “trusting,” Sir Thomas says, that “for my sake, and at my contemplation, ye will use the more favour to the house.”

Sir Henry Spelman, in his *History and Fate of Sacrilege*,‡ is careful to show that it fared ill with the early intruders into the Abbey lands. He says that the property of Barking abbey, after the Dissolution, had no less than six successive possessors, belonging to four different families, in the shorospace of seventy-eight years, and that the barony of Edward Lord Clinton became extinct in the direct male line in 1692; and further, that when the abeyance of the barony was determined in favour of Hugh Fortescue, Esq., he died without issue. Nor were the intruded owners of Chertsey more fortunate.

Dugdale prints a curious document which throws some light upon the dietary of the convent. On “Seynt Alburgh’s daye,” the Cellaresse of the House “must purvey for a pece of whete and iij gallons milke for frimete,” that is for Frumenty, a dainty

* Thomas Hearne, *A Collection of Curious Discourses on Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 249, 250: edit. 1771.

† *Letters relating to the Suppression of Monasteries*, No. 32.

‡ Edition 1853, pp. 67, 319, 324, and pp. 265, 297.

dish which Halliwell says was made of hulled wheat boiled in milk, and seasoned with cinnamon and sugar. At Shrovetide my lady Abbess was to be supplied with "vij chekenes," and the convent was regaled with "bonnes" and "crum-cakes," that is pancakes. Some other little delicacies were provided at divers seasons, such as a "hoole hogg sowfe" which "do serve four ladyes." Lest this dish over-exercise the reader's ingenuity, let him be told that a *souce* consists of the head, feet, and ears of swine boiled and pickled for eating; a toothsome meal it may be supposed, according to the taste of those days.

It was in Bishop Erkenwald's house in London that Archbishop Theodore was reconciled to Bishop Wilfrid, after their long estrangement. From this meeting may be dated the long series of negotiations which ended in Wilfrid's restoration to his cathedral church and to his minster.*

The faintly Erkenwald held the See of London from the year 675 to 693. He was canonised in due course. A cloud of legends surround him. Holy days were set apart in his honour; special religious offices were compiled to commemorate him;† prayers were said and hymns were sung at his shrine;‡ and thither flowed large crowds of pilgrims from all parts of the Diocese, and, indeed, from yet more distant places, to kneel before the bones of the sainted prelate.

* Canon Bright, p. 351.

† I have printed some of these Offices in my *Documents illustrating the History of S. Paul's Cathedral*.

‡ See *infra*, Chapter V.

The day of his death, April 30, and the day of his translation, November 14, were long observed as festival days in his own Cathedral of S. Paul.

Those who are curious in legendary lore will find the story of S. Erkenwald well told in Caxton's *Golden Legend*.* The closing scene of his life—

“Last scene of all,
That ends this strange eventful history”—

may best be related in verse.†

THE DEATH OF ERKENWALD.

And Erkenwald lay dying in his cell :
 Afar the silver Thames, mist-robed and still,
 Hushed into silence at his passing hour,
 Stole on through emerald reaches toward the sea.
 The waning Day moved by, and as he moved
 Drew his dark cloak around, yet, ere he fled,
 Turned one bright glance from out his golden eye
 To that still cloister-cell, and paused awhile
 And lit those noble features which in eve
 Lay with a faintly glory most divine ;
 Those heavenward eyes, instinct of deepest love,
 Were eloquent with prayer, and while the light
 Grew brighter ere it faded, lo ! he slept.

Then, stealing through the air in that deep hush
 Came roseal perfume, soft as laden breezes
 Pour out the golden gates of Paradise :
 And long it lingered where the saint lay dead :
 It seemed like the rich odour of good deeds
 Wafted upon the mighty wings of Time.

* Reprinted in my *Documents*, pp. 186-190.

† The lines are by my son, W. J. Sparrow Simpson, Trinity College, Cambridge.

But deep gloom hung around the capital,
And chiefly through the arching nave of Paul ;
Then one said weeping, “ Erkenwald is dead ; ”
And man to man remurmured, “ He is dead ; ”
And earth and air throbbed fighing, “ He is dead.”
Wherefore the priests came forth from nave and aisle,
Came forth enrobed to bear the body thence,
Frail habitation that did erst contain
The priceless jewel of a faintly soul :
So, through the years, to lie in holy foil
Enshrined amid a nation’s reverence.

But Chertsey also claimed him for their own :
Then while they marked the long procession wind
Beside the rolling Lee, to bear away
That vacant temple of a faintly soul,
The monks wept bitter tears and fmote the gates
Of heaven with piteous prayer and lamentation,
Befeeching he might ever rest with them,
Praised by their song and blessing all their need.
So they implored beside the rolling Lee.
And lo ! the stream grew strong and terrible,
And whirled and swelled in eddying fitfulness,
And black storms hung about the arching sky,
The torrent waters, and dark forests deep.

And awful hands of might invisible
And wings of power seemed ever circling round :
Then stood the priests confounded, all the air
Seemed fraught with vivid energy and life,
And instinct with ineffable Deity,
Most dread and wonderful : and thence divining
The everlasting arm of Majesty
O’ershadowing all, they ceased in trembling fear.

Then rose to God a mournful Litany
Upraised of priestly voices—grand and wild,
A De Profundis out of sorrowing hearts.
And lo ! the tempest stayed, and wave on wave

Foamed backward and uprose on either hand :
 Then joyously the priests arising moved
 And bore through floodleſs space their burden on
 To sleep beneath the noble towers of Paul.

So there did they confign to wakeleſs rest
 Their well-beloved, their master Erkenwald,
 Their God-fent light, their friend Saint Erkenwald,
 And builded him anon a worthy ſhrine,
 Where lamps might burn for ever, and adorned it
 With coziest gifts and nobleſt offerings.
 And lowly thouſands oftentimes knelt before it,
 Beſeeching him to bear their fervent prayers
 Beyond the stars of God, where feraphim
 Bow down their radiant faces and adore.

And thus they chanted in the voice of prayer :

“ O golden Lamp of Christ, O Erkenwald,
 Give prayer for us before the awful Throne,
 Until we join with thee the joyous throng
 In Heaven’s high courts and ſtarry palaces :
 Where with the ſong of feraphs may we ſing
 In jubilant praife to Christ the Eternal King !
 Alleluia.”*

* The last six lines are a translation of the *sequence* in the Office of S. Erkenwald, printed in my *Documents, etc.*, p. 23.



*THE PERSONAL STAFF OF THE
CATHEDRAL IN 1450.*



CHAPTER II.

THE PERSONAL STAFF OF THE CATHEDRAL IN 1450.

HE Statutes of the Cathedral, which were printed a few years ago, enable us to obtain a clear view of the inner constitution and government of this grand foundation. Let us take our stand at about the year 1450, the period at which Dean Lisieux compiled an important collection of statutes, many of which, however, had been gathered together by Dean Ralph de Baldock before the year 1305, and some of which belong to a period far antecedent even to this.

In 1450, then, the Cathedral body consisted of the following persons : The Bishop, the Dean, the four Archdeacons, the Treasurer, the Precentor, and the Chancellor. To these we must add a body of thirty Greater Canons, twelve Lesser Canons, a considerable number of Chaplains, and thirty Vicars. A few words may be said of these several persons or classes of persons. The Subdean, Sacrist, Succentor, and many

other officials, chiefly taken from the ranks of some of the separate bodies already enumerated, will also require independent notice. Whoever will take the pains to remember the distribution of rank and office here set forth will have a fairly accurate view of the inner organisation of a Cathedral of the Old Foundation.

It may be well to say in passing that the Cathedrals of the Old Foundation in England are nine in number. These are Chichester, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, Lincoln, London, Salisbury, Wells,* and York. There are eight Cathedrals of what is called the New Foundation, and these are Canterbury, Carlisle, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Winchester, and Worcester. Five Cathedrals were founded by Henry VIII., namely, Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, Oxford, and Peterborough. Two Cathedrals, Manchester and Ripon, were transformed from Collegiate into Cathedral Churches in 1847 and 1836 respectively; whilst the Sees of Truro and of Liverpool are of still more recent foundation.

The churches of the Old Foundation were churches of *Secular* Canons, the churches of the New Foundation were churches of *Regular* Canons. The Regular or Conventional churches were occupied by a religious community living under a certain rule (*regula*), generally the Benedictine Rule, though at Carlisle there were Canons of the Rule of S. Augustine. Of these churches the Abbot was the head, as in the churches

* The student of Cathedral History should read Mr. Freeman's admirable book on Wells Cathedral : a book whose value is not to be measured by its size.

of the Old Foundation the Dean presided over the Chapter. The Welsh Cathedrals were of the Old Foundation.

At S. Paul's, then, the BISHOP held the most honourable place. The statutes supply very minute directions as to the manner in which he was to be received on the occasion of his first visit to the church after his consecration. It was the duty of the Dean, accompanied by the whole choir, wearing silken copes, to meet the Prelate at the western door and to lead him in procession to the high altar, the bells being rung and a suitable office said. On the occasion of ordinary visits the bells were to be rung, but there was to be no procession. It was the Bishop's duty to be present in the Cathedral on the greater feasts, on Christmas Day, Easter Day, Ascension Day, Whitsunday, the Festivals of S. Paul and of S. Erkenwald, and also on Maundy Thursday and Ash Wednesday. On these greater Feasts the Bishop said Mass, the Dean and the *Sublimior Persona* assisting, if they were present; in their absence, two of the Greater Persons (*Majores Personæ*) attended in their stead. These *Greater Persons* were the Archdeacons, the Treasurer, Precentor, and Chancellor. When the Bishop sat in his own stall or in that of the Dean, the Dean himself and all other members of the church reverently bowed to the Prelate as they entered the choir. The Chancellor held before him with his own hands the book from which the chapter was to be read. In his gift were all the Prebendal Stalls, as indeed they still are, and the greater dignities except the Deanery. The

Episcopal Palace stood close to the Cathedral, at the western end of it, on the northern side.

The DEAN was next in office to the Bishop. When a vacancy occurred in the Deanery, the Chapter met together, and elected one of their own number to fill the vacancy ; and, if there were no canonical impediment, the Bishop confirmed their appointment. At his installation, he was received at the western door with the same honours as those accorded to the Bishop himself. The Dean's authority was very great. He invested the prebendaries, and he corrected all offenders of higher rank ; those of the lower grade he remitted for correction to the Chancellor. On the greater feasts he intoned the solemn antiphons. Benefices were to be conferred by the Dean and Chapter jointly : but in cases where there were urgent reasons why a benefice should be at once conferred, lest the King or some other powerful person should ask that it might be bestowed upon a nominee of his own, then the Residentiaries, with the Dean, or even, in the Dean's absence, the Residentiaries alone, were competent to fill the vacancy. A weekly Saturday Chapter was held, at which the shortcomings of the week were reported and corrected : this excellent custom has been recently restored. Once in three years the Dean made a visitation of the Manors of the Chapter, and of the Houses of the Canons in the City of London, carefully reporting their condition to the Chapter on his return, and estimating the outlay required for repairs and dilapidations. The Manors belonging to the Dean were, in like manner, visited

triennially by two of the Canons, appointed by the Chapter for that purpose. During vacancies of the See of London the Dean and Chapter became guardians of the temporalities of the Bishopric. Unless the Dean were also a Prebendary, he had no share in the Obits, nor in the Pittances, nor in the Common Fund.

In the Dean's absence the SUBDEAN (then, as now, always one of the Minor Canons) fulfilled his duties in Choir, and exercised such discipline as belonged in right to the Dean over the Minor Canons, Chaplains, Vicars, and other ministers ; but he did not occupy the Dean's stall. For his labours he received daily, beside his emoluments as a Minor Canon, a loaf of white bread such as was distributed to the Canons, and a gallon of ale of a better quality than that which was supplied to the inferior clergy. The Church of S. Giles, Cripplegate, was also granted to him in 1295.

Next in dignity to the Dean were the four ARCH-DEACONS, London, Essex, Middlesex, and Colchester, who took precedence in the order in which their names have been enumerated. The Dean, of course, occupied the first stall on the south side at the entrance of the choir ; the Archdeacon of London sat in the first stall on the north side. The Archdeacon of St. Alban's was added to the number in the time of Henry VIII., but he had no stall nor place in the Chapter.

To the TREASURER belonged the custody of all the goods of the church, such as the relics, books, sacred vessels, vestments, altar-cloths, hangings, and the like. Twenty-six folio pages, each page with two columns and a very moderate-sized type, in Dugdale's *History*

of S. Paul's, are filled with an inventory of these precious things, taken in the year 1295. They were certainly of very great value. Rich stores of vestments are there—copes, chasubles, tunics, dalmatics ; altar-plate in great abundance, crosses, chalices, patens ; processional crosses, reliquaries, censers. Still more precious than all these, great numbers of manuscripts, early Texts of the Gospels ; service-books of all kinds, missals, antiphonals, manuals, legends ; historical books, and chronicles : all lost, alas ! with very few exceptions. The maker of the inventory gives us occasional glimpses of the illuminated pages, and tells us in a few pregnant words of the gorgeous binding, in gold and silver, enamel and precious stones.

The care of all these treasures would, of course, be far too onerous for one man ; the Treasurer, therefore, appointed the SACRIST as his deputy, and, under the Sacrist, three VERGERS. The Sacrist's duties were very multifarious. He must see that the elements for the Eucharist were duly supplied ; that the linen and vestments required in the Divine Offices were pure, sound and clean ; that they were replaced, without injury, when service was ended ; that the service-books were well bound, with competent clasps ; that no one practised singing in the vestibule ; that the doors of the vestibule were opened at the first bell at matins, so that the rulers of the choir might enter in due time. In short, his duties were so numerous, that they may be more "easily imagined than described."

The PRECENTOR was the director of the music of the Cathedral ; and he, too, had his deputy, the Suc-

CENTOR, whom he appointed. He also nominated the MASTER of the Singing School.

The CHANCELLOR, or *Magister Scholarum*, was the person from whom the schoolmasters of the metropolis received their licence to teach. He composed the letters and deeds of the Chapter, and whatever was read aloud in Chapter was read by him. The seal was in his custody, and for sealing any deed he received one pound of pepper as his fee.* He appointed the MASTER of the Grammar School of the Cathedral, and repaired the house belonging to the school at his own charges. He prepared the Table in which were set down the names of the Priest, Deacon, and Subdeacon, who were to assist at High Mass, and, in general, he drew up what we should now call the Rota of duty. The punishment of Clerks of the lower grade was committed to him.

The CANONS or Prebendaries were thirty in number, and, with the Bishop at their head, constituted the Chapter. The Canons elected both the Bishop and the Dean. Each Canon had an endowment or *corps* attached to his stall; the names of the manors forming these endowments may still be read over the stalls of the Prebendaries in S. Paul's. Of these estates, eight only were at some distance from the Cathedral, two in Bedfordshire, five in Essex, one in Middlesex. Of the other twenty-two, nine were in Willesden; the rest were in the immediate neighbourhood of London. One of the stalls still bears the name of *Consumpta per Mare*; the estate was in

* *Pepper* probably stands for any kind of spice.

Walton-on-the-Naze, and the inundation which the name commemorates seems to have occurred about the time of the Conquest.

Beside this separate stall property, a considerable number of manors supplied what was called the *Communa*, or *Common Fund* of the Chapter, and this was, for the most part, allotted to the Residentiaries, of whom something will be said by and by.

It was the duty of each Canon to recite daily, whether present in church or absent, a portion of the Psalter. The first words of the section to be recited by each still stand, as of old they stood, over the stall of each of the Prebendaries. As there are thirty Prebendaries and one hundred and fifty Psalms, the portion which each was bound to repeat was about five Psalms. Dean Donne, when Prebendary of Chiswick, preached a series of five sermons on "the Prebend of Chiswick's five Psalms:" and in one of these sermons he says, quaintly enough, "The Psalmes are the manna of the Church. As the whole Book is manna, so these five Psalmes are my Gomer,* which I am to fill and empty every day of this manna." And in another place he says, "Every day God receives from us [the Prebendaries], howsoever we be divided from one another in place, the Sacrifice of Praise in the whole Booke of Psalmes. And though we may be absent from this Quire, yet wheresoever dispersed, we make up a Quire in this service of saying over all the Psalmes every day."

* Gomer, or Omer, as in our present English version, in allusion to Exodus xvi. 32-36.

Of these thirty Canons a varying number, actually resident on the spot, and taking their part in the daily offices, were called Residentiaries. So closely was he kept to his duties, that a Residentiary in his first year might not reside so far from the Cathedral as *Hereford House* in Old Dean's Lane, now called Warwick Lane; nor yet in the house called *Domus Dianæ* or *Rosamundæ* on Paul's Wharf Hill; these houses were considered too far distant from the Cathedral, although either must have been within four minutes' leisurely walk. He was to be present at all the Canonical Hours; to show large and costly hospitality, daily entertaining some of the clergy, and from time to time inviting the Bishop, and the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, for it was desirable to maintain kindly relations with the City. So late as 1843 the shadow of the old hospitality remained, for the Canon-in-residence, up to the close of that year, still continued to entertain at dinner on Sundays the Clergy and Vicars-Choral of the Church who had attended the morning service. At that time the Sunday dinners were abandoned, and a money payment substituted in their stead.

This is not the place in which to speak at length of the prolonged disputes about residence; those who desire full information will find it in Dean Milman's *Annals*. Suffice it to say that when the Common Fund was low, it was very difficult to find Residentiaries, statutes were passed to compel the Prebendaries to reside: when the Fund was large, the same authority found it necessary to limit the number.

Some Canons preferred to live upon their own estates; others held their stalls as one of many pluralities, for they were sometimes bestowed upon Bishops, dignitaries, foreigners, and, it must be added, even upon children.

As the Canons were bound to keep the Canonical Hours, and to serve successively at the High Altar, and as many were non-resident, each Canon had his Vicar. The thirty VICARS had their Common Hall. They took rank after the Chaplains, who, in their turn, were inferior to the Minor Canons. In Dean Colet's time the number of Vicars had dwindled down to six, and that is the number of the Vicars-Choral at the present day. Twelve Assistant-Vicars-Choral have recently been appointed to augment the strength of the Choir.

The MINOR CANONS, twelve in number, are a body as old as the Cathedral itself. They were incorporated as a College by Richard II. in 1394, and they still possess the Royal Charter granted to them by the King. A Statute issued by the Dean and Chapter in 1364 states that they excel in honour and dignity all Chaplains in the Cathedral, that they officiate at the High Altar in the stead of the Greater Canons, and that they are to wear almuces of fur after the manner of the Greater Canons, instead of almuces of black cloth such as Chaplains wore. They possessed estates of their own, and had a common seal. When a vacancy occurred in their body, they nominated to the Dean and Chapter two candidates, of whom the Dean and Chapter elected one. One of their own number was appointed by themselves as *Custos* or

Warden ; two were called Cardinals, *Cardinales Chori*, an office not found in any other church in England ; another was called the *Pitantiary*, and it was his duty to collect and to distribute the *pittances* and other payments due to the body. Their dress consisted of a white surplice, black copes with cowls, and almuces of black fur.

The CHANTRY PRIESTS, a large body of men, were bound not only to say mass at the special Altars to which they were attached, but also to attend in Choir, and there to perform such duties as were assigned to them.

Chaucer alludes to the eagerness with which some of the country clergy, to the neglect of their own benefices, sought for Chantries in S. Paul's. He contrasts with them his model Parish Priest :

“ He sette not his benefice to hire,
And lette his shepe accombred in the mire
And ran unto London, unto S. Poules,
To feken him a chanterie for soules,
Or with a Brotherhede to be withhold ;
But dwelt at home, and keptē well his folde.
So that the wolf ne made it not miscarry.
He was a shepherd, and no mercenary.”

The passage will be found in the *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*, vv. 509-516. In the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale* Chaucer refers to another somewhat similar office, that of the *Annuallere* or Priest who sang *Annuals* or Anniversary Masses for the dead :

“ In London was a Priest, an Annuallere,
That therein dwelled haddē many a year.”—Vv. 16, 480-1.

The time would fail to enumerate the lesser officers,

such as the Almoner, the four Vergers and their *Garciones* or Servitors, the Surveyor, the twelve Scribes or Writers who sat at certain places in the nave of the Cathedral for the service of the public, the Book Transcriber, the Book Binder, the Chamberlain, the Rent Collector, the Baker, the Brewer, and the hosts of minor persons who followed in their train.

It would be very interesting, were it possible, to form some accurate idea of the number of persons who lived within the Cathedral Close or near at hand, and who derived their sustenance from the Cathedral revenues. But the task is too difficult. The Bishop, with his Chaplains and household ; the Dean, with his household ; the Residentiaries, varying probably from two to eleven ; the twelve Minor Canons ; the thirty Vicars ; the crowd of Chantry Priests (in the first year of Edward VI. there would appear to have been not less than fifty-two) ; the Choir boys, and the boys of the Grammar School ; the Minor Officials ; these must represent a very large number of persons actually resident under the shadow of the Cathedral. To these must be added the Bedesmen and poor folk who came hither for relief.

The care, labour, and forethought required to feed this multitude must have been very great and constant. Archdeacon Hale, in his *Domesday of S. Paul's*, has treated this subject very fully and minutely. Certainly the Brewer had no sinecure. The brewings for the use of the Cathedral took place nearly twice a week. "In 1286 there were one hundred brewings in the year. The quantity of grain consumed consisted

of 175 quarters of barley, 175 quarters of wheat, 720 quarters of oats. We learn from the *compotus* (or account) of 1286 that the whole number of bollæ (or gallons) brewed was 67,814.*

If the Brewer's labours were so heavy, the Baker also was not idle; Archdeacon Hale calculates, that the yearly issue of bread amounted to no less than forty thousand loaves. The weight and quality of the loaves, varying according to the rank of the persons supplied, were matters of sufficient importance to be regulated by statute.

To convey from the manors of the Cathedral the food furnished by the tenants, and to prepare and distribute this food to the appointed recipients, must have been a work requiring in itself no little organisation and the aid of a very considerable staff. Roads were not always easily passable, ruts were deep, robberies were frequent; in times of scarcity or of tumult a well-laden waggon on its way to the Cathedral must have presented a tempting bait to the sparse population which occupied the suburbs of the City. A strong escort must often have been necessary to ensure that the food should reach the hungry mouths which eagerly expected it.

* *Domesday of S. Paul's*, p. l.

*THE RITUAL AND RELIGIOUS SERVICES
OF THE CATHEDRAL.*



CHAPTER III.

THE RITUAL AND RELIGIOUS SERVICES OF THE CATHEDRAL.

HE previous chapter has exhibited the Cathedral only so far as its staff was concerned. We have seen the Bishop, Dean, Canons Residentiary, Minor Canons, Vicars, and Chantry Priests, a large army, with the subordinate officers who were associated with them. Let us now endeavour to obtain a glimpse of the Religious Life of the Cathedral. The Statutes of S. Paul's are exceedingly full of matter illustrating the ancient Ritual. Seven times a day the bells of the Cathedral sounded for the Canonical Hours : Matins and Lauds, Prime, Tierce, Sexts, Nones, Vespers, Compline. Various reasons have been assigned for the number of these Hours. Some see the original of the number in David's words, "Seven times a day do I praise Thee, because of Thy righteous judgments."* Others say that the Hours are a thankf-

* Psalm cxix. 164.

giving for the completion of the Creation on the seventh day. Another theory connects them, and the idea is a very reverent one, with the Acts of our Lord in His Passion. "Evensong with His institution of the Eucharist, and washing the disciples' feet, and the going out to Gethsemane; Compline with His Agony and Bloody Sweat; Matins with His appearance before Caiaphas; Prime and Tierce with that in the presence of Pilate; Tierce with His Scourging, Crown of thorns, and Presentation to the people; Sext with His bearing the Cross, the Seven Words, and Crucifixion; Nones with His dismission of His spirit, and descent into hell; Vespers with the Deposition from the Cross, and Entombment; Compline with the setting of the Watch; Matins with His Resurrection."* A brief but excellent analysis of the several offices said at these Canonical Hours will be found in the recently published *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Antiquities*.†

Nocturns or *Matins* was a service before daybreak; *Lauds*, a service at daybreak, quickly following, or even joining *Matins*; *Prime*, a late morning service, about six o'clock; *Tierce*, at nine o'clock; *Sexts*, at noon; *Nones*, at three o'clock in the afternoon; *Vespers*, an evening service; *Compline*, a late evening service at bed-time.‡ In 1263 it was ordered that *Vespers* and *Compline* should be said together.

* Mackenzie Walcott, *Sacred Archaeology*, p. 317.

† Under the words, *Office*, *the Divine*, and *Hours of Prayer*.

J. H. Blunt, *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, p. xxviii.

The Apostles' Mass was said at S. Paul's very early in the morning, "in prima pulsatione," by one of the Minor Canons. The Mass of the Blessed Virgin followed. The Cardinals celebrated the Capitular Mass, at which the Minor Canons and Vicars attended, unless hindered by reasonable cause. Very many Masses were said by the Chantry Priests, daily.

In 1456-7, Bishop Kempe promulgated an important Statute.* He had observed, he says, at his visitation of the Cathedral, that the Copes and Vestments used in the Divine service were worn and well-nigh destroyed with age. Instead of being an ornament and a glory to the Church, they were, in truth, a deformity and a disgrace. He ordains that, in future, every Bishop of the See should, within three years from the time of his consecration, present a filken Cope of not less value than twenty marks sterling, and he himself sets an excellent example by presenting a Cope of that value. Each Dean should present a Cope worth ten marks: and the Major Persons and Canons were directed to pay to the Sacrist, within a year of their installation, sums varying in amount according to the value of their preferment, to be applied to the same purpose. Thus a provision was made for the constant renewal of the Vestments.

Dugdale prints a very important document, a Visitation of the Cathedral in 1295,† made by the Dean, Ralph de Baldock, which exhibits a minute and careful catalogue of the Vestments, sacred vessels, relics, ornaments, and books belonging to S. Paul's. Those

* *Statutes*, p. 204.

† Dugdale, pp. 310-335.

who desire to understand this subject thoroughly, should carefully study such a list as this. At present, we will speak only of the books. The greatest treasures were, probably, the *Textus*, or manuscripts of the Gospels. Of these there were no less than eleven, remarkable for their handwriting, some written in very large letters, others in what was, even in 1295, an ancient character, and all bound with great care with silver covers richly sculptured and enamelled. As all the copies enumerated in this inventory are gorgeously bound, there were no doubt many other plainer copies, intended for everyday use. Of ritual books there was a rich store. There were four Psalters, eight Antiphonals ; of Books of Homilies (including under this head Legenda, Martyrologies, and Passionals) there were no less than twenty ; of Missals there were eleven, beside six others always kept in the Church ; of Manuals, Graduals, Troperia, Organ-books, Epistle-books, Gospel-books, Collectaria and Capitularia, an ample store ; whilst Pontificals and Benedictionals were not wanting. Under the head of Cronica are inserted some Bibles and portions of the Holy Scriptures, with glosses, and a Chronicle by the historian Ralph de Diceto. Other books were found at the several altars.

It cannot be said, with absolute certainty, that any one of these books is now in existence, except the grand Chronicle of Ralph de Diceto, which has found its way to the Archbishop's Library at Lambeth ; and a manuscript collection of the Miracles of the Blessed Virgin, which has strayed to King's College Aberdeen.

The plate, jewels, ornaments, and vestments, not already seized by Henry VIII., were surrendered to the King's Commissioners in 7 Edward VI., the Dean and Chapter requesting that (of all the magnificent treasures, invaluable to the history of art) they might be allowed to retain three chalices, "two pair of Basyns for to bring the Communion Bread, and to receive the offerings for the poor, whereof one pair sylver for every day, the other for Festivals, gilt ; a sylver Pot to put the wine in for the Communion Table, weighing xl. ounces ;" and the written Texts of the Gospels and Epistles ; together with a few linen cloths, some Albs to be made into surplices, upholstery-work, and a Pastoral Staff for the Bishop. The said Dean and Chapter also asked an allowance of £18 6s. 3d. "towards the charges of taking down the steps and place of the High Altar," and for providing some necessaries.*

There is an exceedingly characteristic letter extant, written by Dr. John Smythe, Canon Residentiary of S. Paul's, to Sir Edward Baynton, Knight, Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Anne Boleyn,† which speaks volumes as to the manner in which Henry VIII. dealt with the choice Ornaments of the Church. It appears the King had seen in the Cathedral "a pressyous lytle crosse, with a crusefyxe, all of pure gold, with a riche rubye in the syde, and garnished with foare greate diamonds, iiij. greate emeraulds, and iiij. large balaisses, with xij. great orient perles, etc." "Upon the Kings highe affectyone and plesure of the syghte of

* Dugdale, p. 391.

† Dugdale, pp. 403-4.

the sam," Dr. Smythe and others of the Residentiaries, "had in comaundements by the mouthe of Mr. Secretary, in the King's name, to be with his Grace with the same crosse to-morrow." Dr. Smythe writes, little thinking that his letter would ever see the light, to say that by his own "espeſſyal instruſtyon, convayaunce, and labores, his Grace ſhall have highe pleſure thearin to the accomplenſhemente of his affeſtyon in and of the ſam of our fre gyfte;" and he concludes by putting forth ſome urgent requests for his own private ends in opposition to the Dean, of whom he speaks evil ſecretly behind his back, but "of no mallys," as he hypocritically puts it. An unspeakably mean letter, Dr. Smythe! When Kings forget their duty, men of the baser ſort are always ready to pander to their paſſions.

The loss of the rich art treasures of the Church is much to be deplored, but far more ſad, because utterly irreparable, is the loss of the Service-books. S. Paul's, as became its venerable age and dignity, had, like Sarum, like York, like Hereford, a "Uſe" of its own. And of this *Uſe* no example is certainly extant, unless the two offices of SS. Peter and Paul and of S. Erkenwald, lately discovered in the British Muſeum, are fragments of it.* There is, indeed, a missal preserved in the National Collection, which is lettered, "according to the Uſe of S. Paul's Cathedral, London;" but, unfortunately, it is of too late a date to be of much intereſt to the Liturgiologist, for its rubrics are according to the Uſe of Sarum. On October 15,

* I found these *Offices* in one of Cole's MSS., and have printed them in *Documents, etc.*, pp. 17-39.

1414, Bishop Clifford, with the consent of the Dean and Chapter, decreed that, from the first day of December following, the Divine Office in S. Paul's should henceforth be conformable to that of the Church of Salisbury for all Canonical Hours both night and day.* The original decree of Bishop Clifford has recently been discovered in the Chapter House by Canon Stubbs. The missal referred to has been a very beautiful volume, but its illuminations have been cut out, possibly to adorn some utterly reckless collector's scrap-book.

In the Statutes of the Cathedral, compiled by Ralph de Baldock (Dean of S. Paul's, 1294-1305, and Bishop of London, 1305-1313), and carried down to his own time by Thomas Lisieux (Dean, 1441-1456), will be found an elaborate and minute classification of the Festivals of the year, arranged according to their dignity and importance.† The two Feasts of S. Erkenwald, the Deposition, April 30, and the Translation, November 14; and the two Feasts of S. Paul, the Conversion, January 25, and the Commemoration, June 30, are of course Feasts of the first class. On such Feast-days, before Vespers and Matins, the bells gave special signal of the importance of the day : they were rung two and two before the peal was sounded. On ordinary days the bells were sounded singly. Four Cantors were appointed to rule the Choir, to sing the Invitatory, and to say the last response at Matins. To sing the Response at Vespers four of the Greater Persons were selected by the Precentor, or, in

* Dugdale, p. 16.

† See *Statutes*, p. 51.

his absence, by the Succentor. If the Bishop, Dean, and Four Persons were present, the latter, with the Dean, sang the Response. At Vespers, Matins, and other Hours, four boys in surplices said the Versicles. Two priests with censers incensed the Altar at the *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*, and sang the Antiphons.

These details, however, will hardly interest any who have not made ritual a special study. Suffice it to say that each day brought with it an unceasing round of services. The Canonical Hours were said, the Masses celebrated; care was taken for religious instruction by preaching. As early as 1281, Richard de Swinefield, Archdeacon of London, afterwards Bishop of Hereford, was appointed preacher in the Cathedral.* He was "learned in the sacred page, and an excellent preacher;" "a most approved theologian, and a gracious preacher;" beloved by Clergy and Laity of the City. A few years later, Bishop Richard de Gravesend appointed a Divinity Lecturer, and Ralph de Baldock, his successor, endowed the office in 2 Edward II.

Each officer had his special work to do. The Precentor appointed what music should be sung, and nominated the persons who were to sing it. The care of the singing school, and of the general instruction of the choristers, brought its daily round of duty. The Treasurer, with his priceless store of rich jewels, books, and vestments, found ample occupation for himself and his attendants. The Chancellor gave licenses to schoolmasters, and, it may well be sup-

* *Statutes*, p. 188.

gradat infirmitas. qm psona debet de-
codata mons junta. qd utramq; amantū
genere. qd causā utilitatis eiusdem
ecclie. scilicet ualeat ordinazione
disponere.

Aue. ordinavit ocellatum ep̄m in cuncta tercio
telumonia. iustum in cunctate noſensi. Sed libro n̄
Eveluentis iux.
confinguit ecclesiam ſc̄i pauli lund.
Aug⁹ prius ordinavit laurentiū ep̄m cap̄. iii.
Aep̄os britannie conuocauit ad collo-
quium.

posed, examined them and their scholars. Two schools only, in all the City of London, claimed exemption from his jurisdiction: the school of S. Mary-le-Bow, and that of S. Martin-le-Grand. The Scriptorium of the Cathedral was an important department, and was ably governed: the grand Pauline hand is well known to those who have worked in the archives. The *Statuta Majora*, and a noble folio copy of Ralph de Diceto's *History*—the former preserved at S. Paul's, the latter now at Lambeth Library—are very fine examples of the bold, clear hand, in which the Pauline Scribes excelled.* The inks, both red and black, retain their full lustre: the colours could scarcely have been more beautiful on the day that the writing was executed. These accomplished Scribes wrote the Church Service-books, and multiplied copies of rare manuscripts to enrich the Library. Every man had his work to do, when the system was properly developed.

To the ordinary daily offices must be added occasional services. Many pilgrims visited the famous shrines of the Cathedral. The devout people came in great numbers to kneel at the renowned shrines of S. Erkenwald, and of Mellitus, and of Roger Niger. A short form of prayer, with a hymn, which may probably have been recited by pilgrims at the shrine of S. Erkenwald has been lately printed.†

Occasionally irregular forms of devotion sprung up

* The accompanying plate gives a *fac simile* of a few lines from Ralph de Diceto's *History*.

† *Documents*, p. 16.

in the Cathedral, like the strange popular devotion to Thomas of Lancaster. Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, "was the son of Edmund, the second son of Henry III., and titular King of Sicily, by Blanche of Artois, queen dowager of Navarre. Cousin to the King, uncle to the Queen, high steward of England, possessor of the Earldoms of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, he stood at the head of a body of vassals who, under Montfort and the Ferrers, had long been in opposition to the Crown. He was married to the heiress of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln and Salisbury. A strong, unscrupulous, coarse, and violent man, he was devoid of political foresight, incapable of political self-sacrifice, and unable to use power when it fell into his hands. His cruel death and the later development of the Lancastrian power, by a sort of reflex action, exalted him into a patriot, a martyr, and a saint."* His story cannot even be epitomised here. Suffice it to say, that he was defeated at the battle of Boroughbridge, March 16, 1322, and taken captive by Sir Andrew Harclay. "Six days after his capture, the great earl, in his own castle of Pomfret, before a body of peers with Edward himself at their head, was tried, condemned, and beheaded, as a rebel taken in arms against the King, and convicted of dealing with the Scots. The haste and cruelty of the proceeding were too sadly justified by the earl's own conduct in the case of Gaveston. Yet cruel, unscrupulous, treacherous, and selfish as Thomas of

* Canon Stubbs' *Constitutional History of England*, ii. pp. 349, 350.

Lancaster is shown by every recorded act of his life to have been, there was something in so sudden and so great a fall that touches men's hearts. The cause was better than the man or the principles on which he maintained it. A people, new as yet to political power, saw in the chief opponent of royal folly a champion of their own rights : rude, insolent, and unwarlike, an adulterer and a murderer, he was liberal of his gifts to the poor, and a bountiful patron of the clergy : his fame grew after his death.* By-and-by the commons prayed for the canonisation of Earl Thomas, a proposal which was revived from time to time. It is even said by Walsingham to have been successful in 1390.† It was reported that miracles were wrought at his tomb. At Bristol also, Henry de Montfort and Henry Wylyngton, who had been hanged there, were said to be working miracles. The earl's relics sweated blood, it was believed.‡ A tablet erected in S. Paul's to commemorate him was the scene of some of these alleged miracles. "The crooked were made straight, the blind received their sight, and the deaf their hearing, and other beneficial works of grace were there openly shown," says the *French Chronicle of London*.§ A short *Office* probably intended to be said at his tomb, and a more elaborate *Office*, consisting of an *Antiphon*, *Collect*, *Prose*, *Sequence*, and two *Hymns*, will be found in

* Canon Stubbs' *Constitutional History of England*, Library Edition, ii. p. 380.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 385, 401.

‡ *Ibid.*, iii. p. 220.

§ Edited by H. T. Riley, pp. 257, 258.

*Documents illustrating the History of S. Paul's Cathedral.** Crowds of people thronged to the Cathedral to pay their devotion to this saint of their own making, for it is highly improbable that he was ever canonised. Lingard says,† that the request for his canonisation was not even noticed by the Pope.

This new *culte* was exceedingly unpalatable to the King. On June 28, 1323, Edward II. issued a peremptory letter addressed to Stephen Gravesend, Bishop of London, concerning this Tablet and these special devotions. The Tablet must be removed ; upon it was pourtrayed the effigy of Thomas, formerly Earl of Lancaster, "a rebel and our enemy." The devotion before it had not received the sanction of the Holy See. The Bishop had, nevertheless, connived at it. The King does not hesitate to insinuate that the Bishop had been influenced by low and base motives, and that the love of "filthy lucre" had not been wanting. The people are to be restrained from these devotions, that the indignation of God and the King may be avoided. Accordingly, on July 7, by virtue of the King's writ, issued from the Chancery, the Tablet was taken down, and the wax taper which stood before it was removed. For some little time, however, the people continued to make oblations at the pillar on which the Tablet had hung.‡

A relic of the devotion to Thomas of Lancaster was brought to light in 1824, when a richly-embroidered chasuble of the time of Henry VII. was discovered in a walled-up crypt beneath the chancel of the parish

* *Documents*, pp. 11-14.

† Lingard, iii. p. 34.

‡ *Documents*, pp. xviii., xix.

church at Warrington. On one of the orphreys of the chasuble is the figure of a man fully armed, holding a battle-axe in his left hand, which has been decided by the late Dr. Rock to be the effigy of the Earl of Lancaster. Leaden brooches, representing a knight holding a battle-axe, have been found in London, and these, too, may possibly be tokens given to pilgrims who had visited the tablet.

The meetings of the various Guilds for their own appointed services, and the processions from parishes in the City to the Cathedral at stated times, especially at Pentecost and at certain other Feasts, added greatly to the multitude of worshippers who thronged the long-drawn aisles of the Cathedral.

The foolish and profane rites of the Boy-Bishop found their place here, as in other cathedrals and very many parish churches. Holy Innocents' Day, Chil-dermas, as the old name is, was his grand day of office. On the eve of S. Nicholas, the special patron of children (December 6 is the saint's festival), the children of the choir elected one of their number to be the boy-bishop, and others who were to be his clerks. A set of Pontifical vestments was provided for him. At S. Paul's these comprised a white mitre embroidered with little flowers, a rich pastoral staff, and, no doubt, all other vestments pertaining to his supposed dignity. His attendants were vested in copes. "Towards the end of evensong on S. John's Day, the boy-bishop and his clerks, arrayed in their copes and having burning tapers in their hands, and singing

those words of the Apocalypse (ch. xiv.), *Centum quadraginta*, walked processionally from the Choir to the Altar of the Blessed Trinity, which the boy-bishop incensed. Afterwards they all sang the anthem, and he recited the prayer commemorative of the Holy Innocents. Going back into the Choir, these boys took possession of the upper Canons' stalls, and those dignitaries themselves had to serve in the boys' places, and carry the candles, the thurible, the book, like acolytes, thurifers, and lower clerks. Standing on high, wearing his mitre, and holding his pastoral staff in his left hand, the boy-bishop gave his solemn benediction to all present: and, while making the sign of the cross over the kneeling crowd, he said :

“Crucis signo vos consigno ; vestra sit tuitio.
Quos nos emit et redemit suæ carnis pretio.”*

The next day, the feast of Holy Innocents, the boy-bishop preached a sermon. Two such sermons in English delivered, the one at S. Paul's and the other at Gloucester, have lately been printed.† Dean Colet expressly ordered, in the Statutes of his School, that all the scholars should attend at the Cathedral to hear this sermon, “with the maisters and surveyors of the scole,” and that each of the children should offer one penny to the youthful Prelate. The boy-bishop was even

* Dr. Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, vol. iii., pt. 2, pp. 215-219.

† *Two Sermons preached by the Boy-Bishop, at S. Paul's, temp. Henry VII., and at Gloucester, temp. Mary.* Edited by the late able antiquary, Mr. John Gough Nichols, for the *Camden Society Miscellany*, vol. vii.

allowed to commence the mass, and to go on "up to the more solemn part of the offertory."*

In 1263 some rules were drawn up for the regulation of this function at S. Paul's. Care was to be taken lest the liberty of that day should degenerate into license. The boy-bishop must not, in future, select any of the Canons, Major or Minor, to bear the tapers or the censer, but he must select his ministers from those who sat on the second or third form. The Dean should provide a horse on which the boy-bishop might ride forth to give his benediction to the people, and each Residentiary supplied a horse for some other person in the procession. There was feasting throughout the Close. The boy-bishop, attended by two chaplains, two taper-bearers, five clerks, and two of the Church servants preceding him with wands, supped with one of the Canons Residentiary.

Cranmer forbade these processions, Queen Mary restored them, and they were finally abolished by Queen Elizabeth.

A few notes as to Post Reformation usages may not be unacceptable.

Bishop Bancroft's *Visitation* in 1598† gives us some details about the Divine Offices. Prayers were said in the Jesus Chapel at five in the morning, and at six o'clock in the winter, by the Minor Canons. The Sub-dean and the two Cardinals were, by ancient custom,

* *Statutes* pp. 91-93.

† The returns, in manuscript, are still preserved at the Cathedral.

exempted from this duty. The Saturday Chapter was retained. In term-time there was a divinity lecture, with prayers. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen assembled in S. Dunstan's Chapel "every Sondaye morninge before thei goe vnto the Sarmon." Sermons were preached and Psalms were sung at Paul's Crois. The details are scanty—probably the *Returns* are very imperfect.

In 1636 Archbishop Laud visited the Cathedral, as Metropolitan. The Dean and Chapter protested strongly, but in vain, against this exercise of the Archbishop's jurisdiction, but the King, in a curt letter, required their submission. The Returns of the Dean and Chapter, and of the Minor Canons, to the Visitation questions have lately been printed in the *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*.* "Divine service is daylie vsed, and the sacraments duly administered in due time by singing and note according to ye vsuall custome of ye said church." A sermon was preached every Sunday afternoon by the Dean or Residentiaries, or some deputed by them: previously two lecturers had taken this duty, a payment of £6 13s. 4d. being assigned to each. On every holiday the morning sermon was preached by the *Greater Persons*, the afternoon sermon by a lecturer. Thrice a week in term-time a lecturer preached, who received £60 a year for his pains, £20 from the Chancellor and £40 from "an addition given by Dr. White," the pious founder of Sion College. There were four Residentiaries, and ten choristers, in these days. The Dean

* *Appendix to Fourth Report*, pp. 154-157.

and Chapter make return, with the greatest *naïveté* that the constitutions of the Church were duly observed, “excepting that in the long vacacion and times of dangerous infection wee all repaire to our benefices, leaveing the ordering of the Choir and Divine Service to the Subdeane according to the custome of the church.”

But Bishop Compton’s *Visitation* in 1696* is the most important Post Reformational Visitation extant. The minutest details of public worship are here set forth. Daily prayers are to be said at ten and three; on Sundays, morning prayer at nine. The first Lesson was read by a Vicar-Choral. The Litany was sung by two Minor Canons, in the midst of the Choir. The *Venite* and the Psalms for the day were to be sung in alternate verses, antiphonally, *et harmonice*, as often as it seemed good to the Dean or Residencies. Early Morning Prayer was said at six from Lady Day to Michaelmas, and at seven from Michaelmas to Lady Day; Evening Prayer at six o’clock all the year round.

But probably the most important feature of Bishop Compton’s regulations was his Order for Preaching on all Festival Days. It is in substance the same as that now in use. Every one of the Greater Persons and Canons, found himself responsible for one or two sermons in the course of each year; and was thus brought into visible association with the Cathedral. There was to be a celebration of Holy Communion

* *Statuta*, pp. 281-286.

on all Sundays and Feasts, the *Trisagion* and the *Gloria in Excelsis* being sung by the Choir.

At Bishop Gibson's Visitation in 1742, the hours of the daily service were altered to a quarter before ten, and a quarter past three.

In November, 1869, the daily morning service was ordered to be said at ten. The afternoon service has, for many years, been said at four. The Sunday services were then at half past ten and a quarter past three, and the Sunday afternoon sermon, which had been preached immediately after the Anthem, was at this time removed to the end of the service. In 1872 an early celebration of the Holy Communion, at eight o'clock in the morning, on Sundays and Festivals was introduced : and since 1 January, 1877, there has been a *daily* celebration at the same hour.



*A WALK ROUND OLD S. PAUL'S:
THE EXTERIOR.*



CHAPTER IV.

A WALK ROUND OLD S. PAUL'S: THE EXTERIOR.

S it is just possible that some of my readers may not be quite familiar with Old S. Paul's, its exterior and its interior, I will beg leave to act as their guide and will ask them to accompany me on a short excursion. We will start from the banks of the Fleet river, and imagine ourselves to be walking up Ludgate Hill somewhere about the year 1510. At this time the Fleet, which took its origin at Hampstead Hill, augmented by the waters of the Old Bourne (we have corrupted the name into Holborn), was beginning to acquire a somewhat evil reputation. The upper waters had been diverted and the once navigable stream was becoming choked and stagnant. Pope directs us in his *Dunciad* (Book II.):

“ To where Fleet-ditch, with disemboguing streams
Rolls the large tribute of dead dogs to Thames,
The king of dykes ! than whom no sluice of mud
With deeper sable blots the silver flood.

And Swift, in his *City Shower*, in vigorous if not refined language, tells how

"Drown'd puppies, stinking sprats, all drown'd in mud ;
Dead cats, and turnip-tops, come tumbling down the flood."

Leaving the valley of the unsavoury Fleet, let us turn our steps eastward, and ascend the Hill. We soon arrive at the ancient wall (a fragment of it still remains), and pass under Lud Gate itself. [It crossed the hill a little to the west of S. Martin's Church. Roman remains, a fragment of a statue of Hercules, and a monument dedicated by Anencletus, a Roman soldier, to Claudina Martina his wife, have been discovered near at hand.] The gate itself is used as a prison, and contains a chapel built by Dame Agnes Foster in the middle of the fifteenth century.*

Passing through this strongly fortified gate, which is said to have been "repaired or rather new-built" in 1215, when portions of the houses of some opulent Jews were used in the reconstruction, we proceed along Ludgate Street, and soon arrive at the Great Western Gate of the Close spanning the street towards the ends of Creed Lane and Ave Maria Lane. The Cathedral stands within a spacious walled enclosure. The wall, erected about 1109, and by letters patent of Edward I., greatly strengthened in 1285, extends from the N.E. corner of Ave Maria Lane, runs Eastward along Paternoster Row to the North end of Old Change in Cheapside ; thence Southward to Carter Lane, and on

* It was taken down in 1760-2.

the North of Carter Lane to Creed Lane, back to the Great Western Gate. There are six entrances to the enclosure. The first is the Great Western Gate, by which we have just entered ; the second, in Paul's Alley in Paternoster Row, leading to the postern gate of the Cathedral ; the third, at Canon Alley ; the fourth or Little Gate, where S. Paul's Churchyard and Cheapside now unite ; the fifth, S. Augustine's Gate, at the West end of Watling Street ; the sixth, at Paul's Chain.

Entering beneath the Great Gate, we see at once the Western front of the Cathedral. Perhaps, at first sight, we may be a little disappointed, for it is a simple Norman façade, and by no means ornate. Its broad simplicity takes away from its real size, and we should form no just idea of its height were it not for the Church of S. Gregory nestling close to the Cathedral on its Southern side, the Northern wall of the little sanctuary touching the Cathedral wall. The Church seems insignificant, and helps to show us how vast the Cathedral is, just as S. Margaret's Church helps to "scale" Westminster Abbey. The Western elevation is flanked by two towers, the Northern of which is closely attached to the Bishop's Palace ; the Southern, commonly called the Lollards' Tower,* is used by the Bishop as a prison for heretics.

But that which strikes us most is the prodigious height of the spire. The tower on which it stands is 285 feet high, the spire, of wood covered with lead, is

* Well known to the readers of Fox's *Acts and Monuments*.

208 feet more ; 493 feet in all.* Its height was proverbial. In Lodge's *Wounds of Civil War*, a clown talks of the "Paul's Steeple of honour," meaning by that phrase, the highest point that could be attained.

On our left, on the Northern side of the Nave, at its Western end, stands the Bishop of London's Palace. [The name of London House Yard still helps to preserve the memory of it.] A private door leads from the Palace into the Nave of the Cathedral, so that the Bishop can pass directly into the grand Church. The Palace, the Deanery, and some of the more important houses in the Close have private Chapels of their own. The Chapel in the Palace has a crypt or "lower Chapel" beneath it, like the exquisite Chapel and crypt of Lambeth Palace.

Passing beyond the Palace and its grounds, we arrive at Pardon Church Haugh. Here is a large and goodly cloister, wherein are buried sundry persons, "some of worship, and some of honour," whose monuments, in number and curious workmanship, "passed all other" in the Cathedral itself. Within the cloister stands a Chapel, founded by Gilbert, father of the sainted Thomas à Becket, and rebuilt by Dean Moore in the time of Henry V. But we shall turn away even from the chapel and the monuments to study the very striking paintings on the wall of the cloister : for here is pourtrayed in all its quaint horrors the Dance of Death. And lest we should fail to understand the meaning of the symbolical paintings, verses translated out of the French by John Lydgate, a

* I adopt throughout Mr. Ferrey's measurements.

monk of Bury S. Edmund's, are added to expound them to us. But, indeed, the allegory needs little exposition. Death, personified by a skeleton, appears in each several picture, holding by the hand a Pope, an Emperor, a Cardinal, a King, a Patriarch, a Constable, an Archbishop, in short, all orders and degrees of men : for

" To this complexion we must come at last."

Lydgate's verfes are a Dialogue between Death and the persons whom he conducts. We will transfer a fingle example to our tablets. Death leads along a merchant, and thus speaks to him :

" Ye rich Marchant ye mot look hitherward,
That pased have full many divers lond,
On horse and foot, having most regard
To lucre and winning as I understand,
But now to dance you mot give me your hond,
For all your labour full little avayleth now,
Adue vainglory both of free and bond,
None more covet then thei that have ynough."

To whom the Merchant maketh answer :

" By many a hill and many a strong vale
I have travailed with many marchandise,
Over the sea down carrie many a bale,
To sondry Iles more then I can devise :
Mine heart inward ay fretteth with covetise,
But all for nought now death doth me constrein,
For which I see by record of the wise,
Who all embraceth little shal constrein." *

* Dugdale, p. 423. Should we not read *contein* instead of *constrein* in the last line : and, perhaps, *long* instead of *strong* in the first line ?

You will think Dan Lydgate is very quaint, and indeed he apologises for his rude speech, as you will see if you will walk but a few steps farther and read the lines with which he concludes his poem. He says :

"Out of the French I drough it of intent,
Not word by word, but following in substance,
And from Paris to England it sent
Only of purpose you to do pleasance.
Have me excused, my name is John Lidgate,
Rude of language, I was not borne in France,
Her curious miters in English to translate,
Of other tong I have no suffisance."*

Over the eastern side of the cloister is a fair library built by Walter Sherington, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in King Henry VI.'s time, and Canon Residentiary : and the Librarian can spread before us countless and priceless manuscripts.† Here are books on the four parts of Grammar ; the never-failing Boethius ; books on Medicine by Galen, Hippocrates, Avicenna, and Egidius ; Ralph de Diceto's Chronicles, and his discourses on Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom ; a large number of manuscripts of portions of the Holy Scriptures, with glosses and with sermons founded upon them ; the great commentary of Nicolas

* Perhaps it is hardly necessary to add a note to these verses to explain one or two forms unfamiliar to modern readers, such as *mot* for *must*, *lond* and *hond* for *land* and *hand*, *adue* for *adieu*, *covetise* for *covetousness*, *miters* for *metres*, *suffisance* for *sufficiency*.

† The catalogue of these manuscripts fills six closely printed folio pages, Dugdale, pp. 393-399.

de Lyra; works of the illustrious fathers of the Church, such as Chrysostom, Augustine, Gregory, Bernard, Jerome, Thomas Aquinas; some writings of Josephus; and, that classical literature may not be entirely unrepresented, we find in this ancient catalogue, drawn up in 1458, works of Seneca, Cicero, Suetonius, and Virgil. Books of Decretals, and works on Civil Law, are, of course, not wanting. Perhaps from yonder press the Librarian will draw a few printed books, rare as they still are. In this quiet retreat we may spend a long summer's day, merely in turning over the richly emblazoned pages. We have not, however, made half the circuit of the Close, so let us reluctantly say *farewell* to the Librarian.

The College of the Minor Canons lies to the North of the Cathedral, and Canon Alley to the East: between the two is Walter Sherington's Chapel, near to the North Door. To the East, adjoining Canon Alley and still on the North side of the Cathedral, is the Charnel Chapel, an early building, already standing in the reign of Edward I., containing some monuments and alabaster figures. Beneath is a crypt in which are carefully piled together an enormous quantity of bones taken from the adjoining cemetery. [The Chapel was pulled down by the Duke of Somerset in 1549, and the materials used in the building of Somerset House in the Strand. It is said that the bones from the vault beneath amounted to a thousand cart-loads, and that they were conveyed to Finsbury Fields, with so much foil to cover

them as did raise the ground for three windmills to stand on.]*

At the North-east angle of the Choir stands the famous outdoor Pulpit, Paul's Cross.† Eastward of this we come upon an excavation, and a large number of labourers; and amongst them a grave ecclesiastic. He is very simply dressed, his habit is of woollen cloth and quite plain; it is black in colour, though the higher clergy are usually clad in purple. Yet there is something about him which bespeaks the man of learning: his bright eye, his refined and well-marked features, his carriage and demeanour, his "handsome and well-grown" person, evidently mark him out as a man of no common order. We enquire his name. It is Colet, the newly appointed Dean, and the building about to be erected is S. Paul's School.‡ Till lately an "old ruined house" had cumbered the ground. It will soon be covered by new buildings. We see the plans: it will be a "handsome fabric," with "houses as handsome" for the residence of the masters. A noble gift, and worthy of the man.

We pass the Eastern end of the Church, and as we do so, gaze with great admiration at its magnificent rose window, one of the very finest in all England. We also observe the clochier or bell-tower, which

* The windmills are seen in Aggas' Map of London. Windmill Street, Finsbury, marks the site.

† Paul's Cross must have special and separate notice—Chapters VII. to X.

‡ It was founded, Grafton and Lily agree, in 1509. Colet became Dean in 1505.

stands at the East end of the Church. The tower has a spire of wood covered with lead, and within it hung of old time a bell which has often called the citizens of London to a Folkmote, held close beside it. It now contains four very great bells, known as the Jesus Bells, because they specially belong to the Jesus Chapel in the crypt of the Cathedral. On the top of the spire is an image of S. Paul.

[The bells, says Dugdale, were won by Sir Miles Partridge, Knight, from Henry VIII. at one cast of the dice. Sir Miles pulled them down, but Dugdale adds, with sardonic satisfaction, that the same Sir Miles afterwards, temp. Edward VI., suffered death on Tower Hill for matters relating to the Duke of Somerset. He was hanged, according to Fox, 26th February, 1552.]

Turning Westward, along the south side of the Close, we are attracted by the high-pitched roof of the Chapter House, rising above the lofty walls which enclose it. But we cannot pass into this enclosure from without; we must wait patiently till we can enter the Cathedral, and unfortunately the Dean and Chapter have allowed "cutlers, budget-makers, and others, first to build low sheds, but now high houses, which do hide this beautiful side of the Church, save only the top and south gate." Near at hand is the house of the Chancellor, and turning aside, down Paul's Chain, we arrive at a great gate, and see within it many fair tenements. One of these bears the name of Diana's Chamber, *Camera Dianæ*. The residents tell us a strange story, for they say that here Henry II. kept Fair Rosamond,

and that as he had called her at Woodstock *Rosa Mundi*, so here he called her *Diana*. And they point out to us “Testifications of tedious Turnings and Windings, as also of a Passage under Ground from this House to Castle Baynard;” and they say that this was, no doubt, “the King’s way from thence to his *Camera Dianæ*, or the Chamber of his brightest Diana.” But the story is not very edifying, and so we leave them. We are going into the presence of one who has little relish for such tales, and we will not even say that we have turned aside out of the safer precincts of the Close.

Here, too, is Paul’s Brewhouse,* and near to this an ancient house built of stone, belonging to the Cathedral, and formerly let to the Blunts, Lords Mountjoy, and afterwards to the Doctors of the Civil Law and Arches. On the same side is another great house called Paul’s Bakehouse, employed in baking of bread for the Church of Paul’s.

A massive chain, *Paul’s Chain*, bars the way against carriages; but we are on foot, and we once more enter the enclosure, gaining a grand view of the spire from the Southern side. To the West lies the Deanery, an ancient house, given to the Church by a very famous Dean, the historian, Ralph de Diceto. We are especially privileged, and we will enter. The present Dean, John Colet, is a man temperate almost to austerity. For many years he has eaten but one meal a day, that of dinner. It is just dinner-time, and we will go to

* Paul’s Brewhouse became at a later period the Paul’s Head Tavern. — Stow, p. 137.

the dining-hall. The Dean is seated at the head of the long table, his household and a few chosen guests form the company. Grace is said, and a boy—probably he is one of the Cathedral choir, for he has a very fresh and pleasant voice—begins to read a lesson out of S. Paul's Epistles : at other times the lection is taken from the Proverbs of Solomon. His sweet voice ceases, and presently the Dean begins to speak. He makes the chapter which has been read the subject of his discourse. His talk is grave and serious, but never wearisome. By-and-by he changes his tone, almost before the company are "satisfied rather than satiated" with what he has said. He rises early from the table, for he has no delight in coarse sensual pleasures. He loves the society of congenial friends: he will sit with them till very late in the evening, discoursing on religion or on learning. If he has no congenial friend, one of his servants will read a portion of Holy Scripture to him, and the Dean will very likely prepare for some sermon to be delivered in the Church or at the Cross, or some lecture to be addressed to a learned audience. He never travels without a book, and all his talk is seasoned with religion.

It is time, however, that we left this pleasant company. There are divers houses for the use of the Canons at the West end of the Church, and also residences for the Vicars: but these, and the other dwellings scattered round the Close, we have not time to visit. Let us hasten to the Western Portal. But stay a moment; the Bishop, Richard Fitz-James, is just entering within the gates of the Palace. Let us

follow him ; perhaps he may say something about his neighbour the Dean. It is rumoured that the Bishop does not greatly love the Dean.

Colet has spoken very boldly in sermons at the Cross and before the King against the vulgar superstitions and other errors of the time. He has denounced the corruptions which were rampant in the Church. Even of his own clergy, and of the choir, some have been strictly and sternly called to order for their irregular behaviour. There are those who smart under the lash of his rebuke, and who do not love his almost ascetic life, as that is a sharper rebuke than his words. But let us hear Bishop Fitz-James, as he sits in his study with some of his clergy in private conference. They are talking about the Dean. We just catch the word *heresy*, half whispered at present. "He has taught," says the Bishop, "that images are not to be worshipped. That is rank heresy enough. Shall the shrine of S. Erkenwald be deserted? Shall rich gems and offerings no longer be laid upon its altar? And the Great Crucifix at the North door, are men no longer to kneel before it?" The Bishop is very angry.

"But that is not all," says one ; "he has preached against the temporal possessions of the Bishops. He said that the command, *Feed my sheep*, was not meant of hospitality, because the Apostles were poor, and unable to give entertainments." The Bishop does not find this teaching very palatable. "Why does not the Dean dress as becomes his rank ? Can he never

forget that his father was a mercer? Why does he vest his school, with its new-fangled learning, in the Mercer's Guild, and not in the hands of the Bishop, or, at least, of the Dean and Chapter?"

But there is more to come. "He has preached against some men reading their sermons in a cold manner." This was very cruel, for Bishop Fitz-James was an old man, and "had taken up that idler way of preaching," as Erasmus calls it. The Bishop loves him not. He has presented Articles against him to Archbishop Warham: but Warham knows the integrity and the worth of Colet, and has dismissed the Articles without even calling on the Dean to reply. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* The Bishop takes a dreary view of the situation, as he sits alone in his study, when his courtiers are gone—for Bishops have courtiers as well as Kings—he laments the degeneracy of the times, and he sees heavy clouds gathering which he cannot dispel.

And indeed heavy clouds had gathered, and the first big drops began to fall, and the distant roar of the coming tempest could be heard by those who, like Colet, had ears to hear. The Reformation was at hand.

But we must leave Deanery and Palace alike, if we are ever to see the interior of the Church at all. Yet stay, the day is nearly spent. We will visit the Cathedral itself to-morrow; and we will come quite early, that we may see the rising sun streaming in through the storied eastern window; and making

the chequered pavement glorious with brilliant colours.*

* The authorities for this chapter are Dugdale, Knight's *Life of Colet*, Nichols' *Pilgrimages to Walsingham and to Canterbury*, Longman's *S. Paul's*, my own *Documents illustrating the History of S. Paul's*, Maitland's *London*. etc., and original documents.



*A WALK ROUND OLD S. PAUL'S:
THE INTERIOR.*



CHAPTER V.

A WALK ROUND OLD ST. PAUL'S: THE INTERIOR.

E will now commence our proposed visit to the interior of the Cathedral. Let us enter at the Western end. Here are three stately gates or entries, curiously wrought of stone. Observe especially the middle gate, with its massive pillar of brass, to which the leaves of the great door are fastened. We pass in at the open wicket. What a striking prospect! The Cathedral is 596 feet in length;* and the breadth, including the aisle walls, is 104 feet. The grand Nave has no less than twelve bays, and the Choir—we shall see it by-and-by—has an equal number. Just where we are standing the roof is 93 feet in height; the Choir is even loftier by some eight feet—a striking feature. The style is very grand and very simple, as that of large Norman Naves is apt to be; the vaulted roof is so

* Longer by 66 feet than Winchester. Dugdale says 690 feet, but this is probably an error.

far above us that we cannot tell its material. Some say that it is of wood, but others that it is of stone, as the great flying buttresses outside would have prepared us to expect. The triforium also is Norman, but the clerestory windows are Pointed. On our left, entered from the second bay, is the Court of Convocation ; and not far from us is the font, near to which Sir John Montacute* desired to be buried, saying, with touching simplicity and devotion, in his last will and testament, " If I die in London, then I desire that my body may be buried in S. Paul's, near to the font wherein I was baptised." At the sixth bay, right and left, are two small doors through the outer walls, and you will observe that these doors offer dangerous facilities for making the Nave a thoroughfare. See, here is a notice against the little north door forbidding such desecration :

" All those that shall enter within the Church dore
 With Burthen or Basket must give to the Poore :
 And if there be any aske what they must pay
 To this Box, 'tis a Penny ere they passe away :"

and below the inscription is an iron chest to receive the penny; and here is another notice, " Hic sacer est locus." But stay, we will not read out the rest of it. Surely we have seen something like it in the Satires of Persius ;† it offends our refined ears : but, alas ! such inscriptions are necessary.

Here is a structure well worth our notice, on our

* *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 124. The will is dated 1388.

† Persius, Sat. i. v.v. 113, 114.

left, filling up the whole space between the columns of the tenth bay. It is the Chantry Chapel of Bishop Kempe, Bishop of the diocese from 1448 to 1489. If you look through the grille you may see upon an altar-tomb the figure of the prelate wearing his episcopal habit and his mitre. He was a great benefactor to this Church, and rebuilt Paul's Cross. You may see his coat of arms in many places of its leaded cover. Close at hand is the Chapel of the Holy Trinity.

Observe the large aperture in the roof of the Nave. What can be its use? An able antiquary shall tell us. Lambarde, in his *Topographical Dictionary*,* says, "I myself being a child once saw in Paul's Church at London at a feast of Whitsuntide, where the coming down of the Holy Ghost was set forth by a white pigeon that was let to fly out of a hole that is yet to be seen in the midst of the roof of the great aisle, and by a long censer which, descending out of the same place almost to the very ground, was fwung up and down to such a length that it reached at one sweep almost to the West gate of the church, and with the other to the choir stairs of the same, breathing out over the whole Church and company a most pleasant perfume of such sweet things as burned therein." The censer used in this strange ceremony is "a great large censer all silver with many windows and battlements used to cense withal in the Pentecost Week in the body of the Church of Paul's at the Procession time;" it weighs no less than clvij. ounces, iii. quarters.†

* It is an anachronism to quote Lambarde in this chapter, as he lived 1536-1601.

† Bishop Pilkington alludes to the practice: "In the midst

Those little tables in the Nave mark the places where the Twelve Scribes sit for the accommodation of the public.* They have taken an oath of fidelity to the Dean and Chapter. They will write a letter for you, or prepare a legal instrument, if you need their aid: but they have sworn in all that they do to have regard to the interests of the Cathedral. If therefore you desire to take proceedings against any of the Clergy you must go elsewhere for your Scribe.

Crossing the Nave, at the eleventh bay on the right hand is the tomb of Sir John Beauchamp, Knight of the Garter, son of Guy Earl of Warwick. There lies his recumbent figure clad in complete armour, and on the four panels at the side of the altar-tomb, you may see the armorial bearings of his noble family. The common people call it Duke Humfrey's tomb, although Humfrey Duke of Gloucester lies honourably buried at S. Alban's, twenty miles away. On Mayday, tankard-bearers and watermen, and others of like quality, come to this tomb early in the morning, and strew herbs about it, and sprinkle it with fair water. And they have some odd sayings of their own. A man who goes without his dinner (walking during dinner-time in this Nave) is said "to dine with Duke Humfrey :" and, in reference to this saying, they have

alley was a long censer, reaching from the roof to the ground, as though the Holy Ghost came in there, censing down in likeness of a dove." Mackenzie Walcott, *Traditions and Customs*, pp. 92, 93.

* *Statuta*, p. 78.

a proverb, "Trash and trumpery is the way to Duke Humfrey," that is, is the way to go dinnerless.*

The small door on your right gives admission to the lesser cloisters. These are really very beautiful and of a rare type. There are seven arches on each side and, what is singular, the cloisters are two stories high, and the upper story, like the lower, is open to the air. How delicate and beautiful is the tracery! In the middle of the enclosure rises up the lofty Chapter House, erected nearly five hundred years ago,† of two stories also. Its lofty pointed roof we saw as we re-entered the Churchyard at Paul's Chain.

Returning to the Nave, we notice the image of the Blessed Virgin, at the foot of Sir John Beauchamp's tomb, before which a lamp is kept burning every night; and every morning, after matins, a short Office is said at this very place before the image.‡ Another taper is also kept burning, as you see, before yonder Great Crucifix. Hard beneath the Northwest pillar of the steeple is the Chapel of S. Paul, "built of timber, with stairs mounting thereunto." On the South side of the Nave is S. Catherine's Chapel, on the North is the Chapel of the Holy

* Allusions to this hungry promenade are by no means rare in the current literature. Thus in Mayne's *City Match*, 1658, we read :

" You'd not doe
Like your penurious father, who was wont
To walke his dinner out in Paules."

† Dugdale says that it was built in 1332.

‡ Dugdale, p. 14.

Trinity: nor must we omit to visit the Altar of the Apostles.

A few steps more and we reach the very centre of the building. The long Nave stretches out behind us; right and left are the two Transepts, with large bold entrances from the Churchyard. The Central Tower, over our heads, is open to the base of the spire: see, what a dizzy height it seems! Looking Eastwards, however, our view is not quite so striking: the Choir is hidden from view by a stone screen, adorned with figures standing under rich canopies; and the Aisles of the Choir are shut off by close walls and gates. Not till we pass these barriers shall we be able to admire the full beauty of the sanctuary.

Near the door of the South Transept is the Chapel of S. John the Evangelist. The flight of seven steps which you observe on the Western side gives access to the Chapter House. We will enter. Observe the eight lofty windows. Small as the building is (it is only 32 feet 6 inches in internal diameter),* its great height makes it very effective. It is built on the site of a garden which belonged to the Dean and Chapter. Ah! what discussions have been held beneath this vaulted roof. What grand men have sat in these stalls, have here presided over councils—Canons, Statesmen, Deans, Bishops, a goodly array!

We will not linger over the tombs, though there are many of them, in either Transept. In the North Transept, there is much which will call for special notice. First of all, there is that grand Crucifix near

* Longman, p. 15.

the North door. Old chronicles say that it was discovered by King Lucius, the first Christian King of England, in the year 140 A.D. ;* but you will use your own judgment as to your acceptance of the story. Large oblations are made here, whereof the Dean and Canons have the benefit. It is a favourite object of devotion amongst the people who come, far and near, to kneel before it. That gravestone marks the tomb of Richard Martin, Bishop of S. David's, in the reign of Edward IV. : he had a special veneration for this Crucifix, and left an annual gift to the choristers that they might sing before it *Sancte Deus fortis.*†

You will remember how Archbishop Arundel spoke about this Cross to William Thorpe, in 1407, when he was under examination as being suspected of heresy. Thorpe asserted that images are not to be worshipped. Archbishop Arundel replied very sharply : “ Ungratioust losell ! thou favourest no more truth than an hound. Since at the Rood at the Northdore at London, at our Ladie at Walsingham, and manie other diuers places in England, are many great and praisable miracles done, should not the images of such holie saints and places at the reverence of God, and our Ladie, and other saints, be more worshipped then other places and images, where no miracles are done.”‡

* *Documents*, p. 58.

† The receipts at this Crucifix in May, 1344, amounted to no less than £50. Milman's *Latin Christianity*, 3rd ed. ix. p. 24; and *Annals*, App. B.

‡ Fox, iii. p. 266.

Thorpe, however, was not to be convinced. Let us be careful what *we* say ; even now sharp ears may be listening.

If the Dean continues to preach as he has lately done, the devotion at this famous Cross will soon diminish : and yet we hear that he has said that he wishes "to be buried nyghe unto the image of seint Wilgeforte" in this Cathedral. Close to the Great North Door is a group of Chapels dedicated to S. James, to S. Thomas, to the Holy Ghost, to S. John Baptist, to S. Margaret. The Chapel of S. John Baptist was built by Sir John Poultney, Mayor in 1348, and he endowed it for three chaplains.

Before entering the Choir we will first visit its two aisles, reserving its central and grandest portion till the last. In these aisles and in the Choir we have great wealth of tombs and monuments. If you care for monumental brasses, you should observe closely that of Bishop Fitz-Hugh near the altar, depicted in full pontificals, with his pastoral staff in his left hand, and his right upraised in benediction ; or that of Dean Evere, near the entrance of the Choir, wearing a cope richly embroidered with saints, and standing beneath a canopy with figures of the twelve Apostles and a picture of the Annunciation ; or that of John Newcourt, Canon, who died in 1485, treated in a similar manner ; or that of Archdeacon Lichfeld, 1496, in the south aisle, who wears an embroidered cope, and his hands, uplifted but not clasped, are raised in prayer. These are all fine examples of the graver's

art, an art unhappily much decayed in these days, for the recently-erected brasses are far inferior.

In the south ambulatory I will point out to you the image of S. Wilgefert, on your left as you enter. Here Dean Colet is to be buried when he dies: that, at least, is his expressed desire. A little farther on your right, you will observe two altar-tombs under one common canopy. Upon each is a recumbent figure wearing a mitre. Who are these? They represent two early Bishops of London, both of them eminent men. The one is Eustace de Fauconberge, Treasurer of the Exchequer, who died in 1228; the other is Henry de Wingham, Chancellor of England, who died in 1262. Quite at the Eastern end of this aisle is S. Dunstan's Chapel. That striking monument represents Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, who died at his house, now called Lincoln's Inn, in 1310. The recumbent cross-legged figure deserves attention, and so do the carefully-wrought effigies around the altartomb.

The North Aisle of the Choir contains some monuments of certainly not less importance than these. Entering at the Western end, we at once find two tombs of the highest interest, for these low shrines, under deeply-recessed arches, beneath the second window on your left, are the resting-places of the bones of King Sebba and King Ethelred. Read the tablets over the shrines. The one relates how Sebba, King of the West Saxons, was converted by S. Erkenwald; whilst the other records a prediction uttered by S. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, to King

Ethelred on his Coronation Day: "Since thou hast aspired to the kingdom by the means of thy brother's death, against whose blood the Angli have conspired together with thy wicked mother, the sword shall not depart from thine house, raging against thee all the days of thy life, and slaying thy seed until thy kingdom shall be transferred to a strange kingdom whose religion and whose language the nation which thou rulest knoweth not. Nor shall the sin of thyself, thy mother, and thy counsellors be expiated till a terrible vengeance has been taken." The tablet further records that S. Dunstan's words were fully accomplished, and that Ethelred, after many battles and defeats, was at length besieged in London, and met a miserable death.*

A few steps farther, and another deeply recessed tomb attracts us: it is that of John de Chishull, Dean of S. Paul's, and afterwards Bishop of London, who died in 1279-80; the arcade in front of it is worth your notice. But I see that you are turning to the right, and are asking whose is that monument with a low canopy and an exquisite screen above it? It reminds us of that of William Rufus at Winchester. And you ask, why is the pavement so worn round about this spot? Here is buried Roger Niger, Bishop of London, who died in 1241. He was canonised after his death, and his fête is held on the 29th of September in every year. It is said that great miracles have been wrought at this tomb, and the stones are worn by the feet of countless

* Dugdale, p. 64.

pilgrims. In 1269, John le Breton, Bishop of Hereford, granted an indulgence of twenty days to all who should devoutly visit this shrine ; and in the sacristy there is still preserved a cope which S. Roger wore, made of red samite, embroidered with stars and roses.

That is a fine canopied altar-tomb, on which lies an armed figure. The inscription above it bears the name of Sir Simon Burley ; but some say that the tablet is in error, and that the person really commemorated is his nephew, Sir Richard Burley, K.G. Notice the garter around two of the shields on the canopy, or perhaps it is a collar of SS., like that which he wears about his neck.* You will soon turn from this memorial, however, to that which is one of the very finest monuments in the Cathedral, the tomb of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. It occupies the space between two columns north of the High Altar. Here rests "time-honoured Lancaster," and there against the lofty canopy is his shield and lance ; there also is his effigy and that of his consort. I will tell you some other time how he supported Wyclif, and dared to oppose the proud Courtenay in his own Cathedral.†

A few steps farther will show you, on the left, the low altar-tomb of Ralph de Hengham, Canon of this Church, and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas : you may see him in his robes, as he is depicted on a monumental brass, lying on the marble slab. At the East end of this Aisle is S. George's Chapel.

And now we will return to the central tower, and

* Dingley's *History from Marble*, ii. Introd. p. 132.

† *Infra*, Chap. VI.

enter the very heart of the building. Immediately before us is a fair screen with a central archway : on each side of the entrance are four canopies with figures beneath them. An ascent of twelve* steps will take us to the level of the Choir pavement. Enter at once. What a noble Choir ! It is in very pure pointed Gothic with a triforium and clerestory. Observe the stalls of delicately carved woodwork : over each of the Canon's stalls is the name of his Prebend, and the first words of the section of the Psalter which he is bound to recite daily. On the North side, over the stalls, is the Organ with its folding-doors. But the chief object which attracts us is the Reredos with the High Altar in the centre, dedicated to S. Paul ; an altar to the north, dedicated to S. Ethelbert, King and Confessor ; and an altar on the south, dedicated to S. Mellitus. These three altars were originally dedicated by Richard de Bynteworth, Bishop of London, on March 24th, 1339. Notice, over the High Altar, the "beautiful tablet,"† adorned with many precious stones and with enamelled work, and with divers images of metal. The tablet stands between two columns, with a frame of wood to cover it, richly ornamented with curious pictures. It cost two hundred marks in 1309. On the right you will see that tabernacle of wood, with a picture of S. Paul, richly painted, placed beneath it. The altars, the screen, and the canopied tomb of John of Gaunt form a striking *coup d'œil*; whilst above

* Hollar's *View* shows 11 steps, his *Plan* 12.

† Dugdale, pp. 11, 12.

the screen the magnificent rose window with the seven long windows beneath it pours down a flood of many-coloured light. Ascending six more steps we reach the sanctuary, from which we will pass behind the Altar Screen. Just eastwards of the screen is the famous shrine of S. Erkenwald. He died on April 30, 693, a day long kept in memory in the Cathedral by special Offices of devotion. He was buried in the Nave. In the great fire of London in 1087-8 the Cathedral was destroyed, and the legends say that the Saint's resting-place alone remained unharmed. On November 14, 1148, his bones were translated and placed in a very precious tomb. In 1314, Gilbert de Segrave laid the first stone of a new and more magnificent shrine, to which on February 1, 1326, the body of the saint was transferred. Canterbury has its world-famed shrine of Thomas à Becket, Westminster its shrine of Edward the Confessor, Durham that of S. Cuthbert, Ely that of S. Etheldreda, S. Alban's its twin shrines of the English Proto-martyr and of S. Amphibalus, and so, as you see, S. Paul's possesses a treasure of scarcely less importance. Clerics and laymen have vied with each other in desiring to enrich it. Walter de Thorpe, a Canon of this Church, gave to it all his gold rings and jewels; in 18 Edward II., the Dean and Chapter lavished upon it rich store of gold and silver and of precious stones; in 31 Edward III., three goldsmiths were engaged to work upon it for a whole year;* King John of France, when he was a prisoner

* At the wages of 8s. a week for one of them, and of 5s. a week for each of the others.

in England, made here an oblation of twelve nobles ; this remarkable sapphire was presented in 15 Richard II., by Richard de Preston, citizen and grocer, there to remain for curing of infirmities of the eyes, and the donor directed proclamation to be made of its great virtues. The shrine is adorned with many figures, and especially, you will note the gilded image of S. Erkenwald himself. (I dare say you remember that a stone figure of the sainted Bishop stands in a niche, on the south side of Bishop's Gate.) This iron grate enclosing the shrine cost no less than £64. The lights now burning before it are provided by an endowment left for that purpose by Dean Evere in 1407. It is really very magnificent. See the gilded image of the saint, the lesser images, the figures of angels, that representation of the Coronation of the Virgin, the crystals, the beryls, the other jewels, the sumptuous painting. All London cannot show you anything more splendid.*

And now let us turn Eastward. The screen running quite across the Church encloses three Chapels : the Lady Chapel in the midst, S. George's Chapel in the North Aisle, and S. Dunstan's in the South. The Choir was rebuilt early in the thirteenth century ; it was completed in 1240 : a little later the eastern part, in which we are now standing, was added, for the

* The rough sketch given by Dugdale evidently represents one end only of the shrine, and that, after it had been despoiled of its chief ornaments. Cressy, in his *Church History of Brittany*, published in 1668, says that the body of S. Erkenwald continued here "till about fourscore years agoe, at which time it disappeared."

Choir was greatly extended then. Before this period a street ran, close to the East end of the Cathedral, from Watling Street to Cheapside: * and here also stood the Church of S. Faith which was pulled down in order to lengthen the Choir. The Parishioners, as we shall see presently, have been provided with a Church in the Crypt beneath our feet. In the Lady Chapel, the Guild of the Minstrels still meet; they possess a grant from Edward IV. which records that the brethren and sisters of the Guild assembled there for devotion. As we leave the Chapel, we pass by the grave of a notable man, Robert de Braybrooke, Bishop of London, who died in 1404. He held the Great Seal of England from 20th Sept., 1382 to 10th March, 1383: a vigorous and vigilant bishop, and one who laboured hard to reform the vices of the humbler people, and the corruption which he lamented in his own Chapter. Observe his well-marked features as they are pourtrayed on yonder monumental brass. He was certainly an earnest reformer.

Even yet we have not exhausted the wonders and the beauties of S. Paul's, for we have not visited the famous Crypt. We can enter it very conveniently from without. About the middle of the North side of the Choir we shall find a low-arched door: some six and twenty steps will take us down to the lower Church. This is the Church of S. Faith, but the eastern part is called the Jesus Chapel. Three rows of columns, there are eight columns in each row,

* Sir Christopher Wren found nine wells in a row, marking the exact site of these houses, under the Choir.

divide the Crypt into four nearly equal aisles, and carry the great weight of the Choir floor and superstructure. At the South-west is the little Chapel of S. John Baptist, and here too are the Chapels of S. Anne, S. Sebastian, and S. Radegund: that figure, looming in the darkness, pierced with arrows, is S. Sebastian. Over the door leading into Jesus Chapel is "curiously painted" the image of Jesus, and the figure, wearing her armorial mantle, with her children kneeling around her, is Margaret, Countess of Shrewsbury, who lies buried before the image. You can read the couplet beneath it :

"JESUS our GOD and Sauior,
To us and ours be Gouernour."

In this Chapel meets the wealthy Guild of Jesus. It was incorporated by Henry VI., and the present Dean, Dean Colet, has drawn up a very remarkable series of A&ts and Ordinances for the "weale, poletique guidyng, and maintenaunce" of the Guild, of which he is himself the Rector.* They specially observe the Feast of the Tranfiguration, and that of the Name of Jesus, and here they meet in full number on these Holydays. Every Friday the Mass of Jesus is said at this Altar by one of the Cardinals of the Church; and after that, on the same day, is said a Mass of Requiem. On the Feast of the Transfiguration "lyveries of golde and silver" are "made and given to the Brothren and Sustren" of the Guild. At Mass on the day of the

* I have printed these *Ordinances* and other Documents relating to the Guild in my *Registrum S. Pauli*.

Transfiguration the Subdean is the celebrant. It is a very wealthy fraternity, for their annual income sometimes amounts to £400.* Alms for the Guild are collected far and wide, even in Wales, and in the Northern Province.

There are several other Guilds in the Cathedral. The earliest, I think, is that founded by Dean Ralph de Diceto in 1197, the members of which met four times a year to be present at the celebration of the Mass of the Holy Ghost. We have already spoken of the Minstrels' Guild; and to this we may add the Guilds of S. Catherine, of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, and that of All Souls which assembled in the Charnel Chapel.

And here we must bring our circuit to a close: but before we part, confess that S. Paul's Cathedral is well worth a visit, and can hold its own for size, for majesty, for its monuments, its chapels, its shrine, its guilds, its spacious crypt, with any other Church that you have visited in merry England.

The date which has been chosen for this imaginary visit to the Cathedral, the year 1510, has compelled us to omit mention of many grand or interesting monuments. Amongst these are the shrouded figure of Dean Donne, 1631, the only perfect effigy now remaining, since the Great Fire on the one hand, and wanton destruction on the other, ruined these unique

* It was £406 os. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in 1534-5; although in 1514-15 it was only £144 6s. 8d.

memorials; Dean Colet's tomb, with his bust above and a skeleton beneath, 1519; Sir William Hewit, 1599; Sir William Cokaine, with his wife and eleven children, two of them *Chrisoms*, 1626; Sir Nicolas Bacon, 1578; John King, Bishop of London, 1621; the vast mass of Sir Christopher Hatton's monument, 1591, of which, as Stow records, "a merry poet wrote":

" Philip and Francis have no tombe,
For great Christopher takes all the roome,"

referring to Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Francis Walsingham, who rest hard by; William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, 1569; Sir John Mason, 1566; William Aubrey, LL.D., 1595; Sir John Wolly, 1595; Sir Thomas Heneage, 1594; Dean Nowell, 1601; and others. But the period was chosen advisedly. It enabled us to see the altars and chapels undisturbed, and the shrine of S. Erkenwald in all its beauty.



WYCLIF IN S. PAUL'S.



CHAPTER VI.

WYCLIF IN S. PAUL'S.



HE sun was setting on the life of the Third Edward, when an incident occurred which is for ever memorable in the history of S. Paul's: John Wyclif, the great Reformer, "the father of English prose," stood within its walls. If he had no other claims upon our notice, his literary ability alone would place him amongst the first rank of English writers. Mr. Shirley, the able editor of the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*,* classes him amongst the greatest of our countrymen, and says that "in his original tracts, the exquisite pathos, the keen delicate irony, the manly passion of his short nervous sentences, fairly overmasters the weakness of the unformed language, and gives us English which cannot be read without a feeling of its beauty to this hour." His

* *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johanni Wyyclif cum tritico*: edited by the Rev. W. W. Shirley (in the Master of the Rolls' Series of Chronicles, 1858) pp. xlvi., xlvii.

translation of the Bible into the mother tongue, his most holy life, his resolute defence of the truth, cause him to stand out from the times in which he lived, a striking figure, a master in Israel.

Born at Lutterworth, about the year 1324, he was appointed Warden or Master of Balliol Hall, as it was then called, in the University of Oxford.* Here he opposed the Mendicant Friars who were drawing away students from the Colleges into their own convents : “Freres,” to borrow Wyclif’s words, “drawen children fro Christ’s religion into their private Order by hypocrisie, lesings, and steling.” In 1366 he opposed the Pope’s demands for arrears in the payment of the tribute money granted by King John. He soon began to attack the abuses of religion, and especially the substitution of fabulous legends—legends differing only from those of the ancient heathen poets in that they were more incredible and less elegant—for the pure faith of Christ. In 1374 he accompanied Simon Sudbury, Bishop of London, and John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, on an important mission to Bruges, where, it may be supposed, he laid the foundation of a friendship which was soon to be of eminent service to him. A strange friendship enough, “between an ascetic priest of deep piety and irreproachable morals, and an ambitious and somewhat dissolute noble.”†

* The authorities here used are the *Fasciculus Zizaniorum*; Thomas of Walsingham’s *Historia Anglicana*; Hook’s *Lives of the Archbishops*; Fox; Longman’s *Life and Times of Edward III.*, etc.

† Longman, *ibid.*, p. 284.

Lancaster was the friend of Chaucer as well as of Wyclif. This strange intimacy has been explained "by attributing to the Duke a mind capable of appreciating, and indeed deeply loving, energy and intellect, but not untinged by a consciousness that men possessed of these qualities might be useful to him in his opposition to the clergy."

Wyclif, who had learned much about the ambition and faithlessness of the Pope, attacked him boldly in his public lectures, calling him, in no very measured language, "Antichrist, the proud worldly priest of Rome, and the most cursed of clippers and purse-kervers." The Pope retorted by issuing bulls commanding the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to take proceedings against Wyclif. His doctrine of the supremacy of kings was most unpalatable at Rome. Horrible heresies were attributed to him.*

Courtenay, the Bishop of London, had been eagerly opposed to the assumption by the Papacy of temporal power in England.† John of Gaunt had little love for the secular power of the Pope, but he would have sided with him if the Roman Pontiff would but abet the Duke's designs against the clergy, whom he desired to expel from secular offices altogether. The Pope was chiefly concerned that the Papal treasury should be replenished. Courtenay and John of Gaunt,

* See Harpsfeld, *Historia Wicliffiana; Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica*, p. 724.

† Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, iv. pp. 321-324.

agreed on some points, found themselves strongly opposed on the question of the status of the clergy. The clergy were the lawyers of the day ; they held the high offices of state ; great political power was in their hands, and a strong feeling was springing up amongst the people that spiritual persons should be limited to spiritual work. On this point the Bishop of London and the Duke ranged themselves on opposite sides. "Lancaster, feudal to the core, resented the official arrogance of the prelates, and the large share which they drew to themselves of the temporal power. Wyclif dreamt of restoring, by apostolical poverty, its long-lost apostolical purity to the clergy. From points so opposite, and with aims so contradictory, were they united to reduce the wealth and humble the pride of the English hierarchy."* But, as Canon Stubbs observes, although "Apostolic poverty for the clergy was the idea which they had in common, it was recommended to the two by very different reasons."† John of Gaunt looked upon Wyclif and his teaching as tools and weapons for the humiliation of the clergy, and particularly of the prelates.

Presently Courtenay summons Wyclif to appear before himself and before the Metropolitan on a charge of heresy. The accusations against the great Reformer are of a political rather than of a doctrinal character. Nothing is said of his opinions on the Incarnation, nothing as to his views concerning the imperishability of matter, nothing about the tenets of

* Dr. Shirley, *Fasciculus Zizaniorum*, p. xxvi.

† Canon Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, ii. pp. 474-477.

Bradwardine. "The object of the prosecution was to proclaim to the world that society was endangered by the political principles which John of Gaunt was putting in practice against the Church."*

On the 23rd of February, 1377,† Wyclif obeyed the summons, and appeared before his judges in S. Paul's. Let us try to realise the scene. At an early hour prelates and nobles had assembled in Our Lady's Chapel, eastward of the High Altar. "Dukes and barons were sitting together with the Archbishops and other Bishops."‡ A shout is heard, a crowd rushes in tumultuously, Wyclif has arrived. He comes, not unattended. John of Gaunt is by his side, and so is the newly-appointed Earl Marshal, Lord Percy. Four bachelors of divinity, one from each order of friars, are also with him, as Fox affirms, to aid him with their advice. The Duke of Lancaster has selected them, for Wyclif will surely need sage counsel. There is a dense crowd, "a main press of people," filling the church. "Such was there the frequency and throng of the multitude, that the lords, for all the puissance of the High Marshal, unneth with great difficulty could get way through." The Lord Percy had much ado to break through the crowd, and that not without noise and tumult and grave offence to the citizens. What right had the Earl Marshal to issue orders in the Cathedral at all? They would protect their Bishop.

Courtenay was popular amongst the Londoners.

* *Fasciculus*, etc., p. xxvii.

† *Ibid.*, p. xxvii. Fox says that the day was Thursday, Feb. 19, ii. p. 800, and note, p. 919.

‡ Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, ii. p. 801.

He had gone so far as to allow the Pope's bull excommunicating the Florentines to be published at Paul's Cross, and had himself spoken imprudent words in a sermon there. The rabble had forthwith proceeded to plunder the houses of the rich Florentines, and the Lord Mayor had come forward to defend them. Courtenay was summoned to appear before the Court of Chancery, and was commanded to unsay his words. An official, in due time, declared from the Cross, that the Bishop had been misunderstood.

Now the people throng in to defend the Bishop. The Earl Marshal and the Duke shall not ride roughshod over him. There is a great uproar. The Bishop is offended ; the sanctuary, he says, is profaned, the synod is disturbed. A fierce contention follows, and a dialogue ensues,* pitched in a somewhat high key.

Bishop Courtenay. Lord Percy, if I had known beforehand what masteries you would have kept in the Church, I would have stopped you out from coming hither.

Duke of Lancaster. He shall keep such masteries here though you say nay.

Lord Percy. Wyclif, sit down, for you have many things to answer to, and you need to repose yourself on a soft seat.

Bishop Courtenay. It is unreasonale that one cited before his Ordinary should sit down during his answer. He must and shall stand.

* The version in the text is that given by Fuller in his *Church History of Britain*, vol. ii. pp. 340, 341 : edit. J. S. Brewer. Fuller, however, cites Fox as his authority.

Duke of Lancaster. The Lord Percy his motion for Wyclif is but reasonable. And as for you, my lord Bishop, who are grown so proud and arrogant, I will bring down the pride, not of you alone, but of all the prelacy in England.

Bishop Courtenay. Do your worst, sir.

Duke of Lancaster. Thou bearest thyself so brag upon thy parents,* which shall not be able to help thee ; they shall have enough to do to help themselves.

Bishop Courtenay. My confidence is not in my parents, nor in any man else, but only in God in Whom I trust, by Whose assistance I will be bold to speak the truth.

Duke of Lancaster. Rather than I will take those words at his hands, I would pluck the Bishop by the hair out of the church.

The last words were but whispered by the Duke, and that softly, in a neighbour's ear ; but they were caught up by the Londoners, who were enraged at the affront offered to their Bishop. They fell upon the lords who were present, and had not the Bishop himself interposed and stayed them from their purpose, the sanctity of the holy place itself would not have prevented them from avenging the insult. It was yet but nine o'clock in the morning, for our ancestors were early risers, when the meeting was dissolved.

The Duke had plotted against their liberties. In the Parliament he had attempted nothing less than to

* His father was Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon.

disfranchise the City of London, to annul its charter, to abolish the office of Lord Mayor, to rule the city by a Captain. The Marshal of England should have power to arrest in the City as in other places, contrary to the rights of the citizens.* They are highly incensed with him, and the riotous conduct in the Cathedral sets the spark to the powder. They attack the Marshal's inn, and break open the gates and doors, and bring out a prisoner confined there, "gyves and all wherin his feet were fastned, intending to burne them in the midst of the citie." Fortunately for him, the Earl is absent. He and the Duke were dining with a Flemish merchant, one John of Ypres, in S. Thomas Apostle, at Ypres Inn, west of the Church ; a great messuage, as Stow says. Their host was a person of some importance, and was appointed as one of the executors to King Edward.†

Inflamed by their success, the turbulent people rush down to the Duke's Palace, the Savoy, hoping there to find their prey. On their way they encounter an unhappy priest who says that Sir Peter de la Mare,‡ whom they thought to be imprisoned in Lord Percy's Inn, was a traitor, and was worthy to be hanged. Whereupon they all cried out, "This is Percy ; this is the traytour of England. His speech bewrayeth him, though hee be disguised in apparell."§ Then they all

* Stow's *Annales*, by Howes, p. 273.

† Fox, ii. p. 920.

‡ "Sir Peter de la Mare, one of the Knights who represented Herefordshire," who had been elected foreman or Speaker by the Commons. Dr. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, ii. p. 467.

§ Stow, *Annales*, p. 274.

ran upon him, striving who should give him his death-stroke ; and they beat him so savagely that he died of his wounds.

The Bishop of London soon hears tidings of the riot. He was just sitting down to table. "The Episcopal palace was a place of considerable strength ; but it was at this time more than usually strong, for that the Bishop himself lived in the affections of the people. The ordinary routine was observed, and at the usual hour the large family of the Bishop, chaplains, knights, clerks, and retainers assembled in the vast and lofty hall. It was a gloomy, prison-like apartment, scantily furnished. It was lighted by two large windows high in the wall, and looking into the inner court. In the centre stood a long table on tressels, and beneath was a plentiful supply of fresh straw. Along the table were forms, until the daïs was reached. On the daïs stools were arranged, and in the centre, for the Bishop, a straight-backed, wooden-seated arm-chair. There was a hatch on either side of the door, and near it a large cupboard or buffet, on which were arranged dishes of earthenware and brass, with a few of silver for the high table ; silver goblets being intermixed with cups of horn, a few drinking-glasses, and jacks."* Information is brought that all London is in an uproar. The Bishop does what in him lies to quell the riot.

The people had commenced the attack upon the ducal palace. The Bishop addresses them. It is

* Hook, iv. p. 334. (Dean Hook must be held responsible for these minute details.)

Lent; let them not profane the holy season. At his bidding, at his nod,* they desist. They would fain have burnt down the palace. They reverse the Duke's arms "in Foro publico," as if he were a traitor. And presently, when a certain soldier of the Duke's called Thomas Wynton, a Scotchman born, came through the city with the Duke's arms hanging by a lace about his neck, the citizens, "not abiding the sight thereof, cast him from his horse, and plucked the escutcheon from him, and were about," as Fox oddly words it,† "to work the extremity against him," had not my Lord Mayor delivered him out of their hands.

The Duke and Lord Percy also hear the ill-tidings. A knight of the Duke's household hurries down into the City. He arrives at the house where the feast was being held. He knocks at the gate and cannot get admittance, the household are busy at the banquet. At last Haverland, the porter, comes: and the impatient knight cries out: "If thou love my lord and thy life, open the gate;" with which words he gets entry. He hurries into the hall and tells the Duke that without the gate were infinite numbers of armed men, and that unless he took good heed that day would be his last. The Duke sees the gravity of the situation. "He leapt so hastily from his oysters, that hee hurt both his legges against the fourme. Wine was offered to his oysters, but hee would not drinke

* Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, i. p. 325.

† Fox, ii. pp. 804, 920.

for haste. Hee fledde with his fellow Sir Henry Percie, no manne following them, and entring the Thames, neuer stinted rowing untill they came to a house neere the Manor of Kenington (beside Lambeth)."^{*} Here they took refuge with the Princeps of Wales, who, as the widow of the Black Prince, had great influence with the Londoners, and succeeded in pacifying them.

No word spoken by the Archbishop or by Wyclif on this occasion has been recorded. "The former," says Fuller, "seeing the brawl happened in the Cathedral of London, left the Bishop thereof to meddle, whose stout stomach and high birth made him the meeter match to undertake such noble adversaries. As for Wyclif, well might the client bee silent, whilst such counsel pleaded for him. And the bishops found themselves in a dangerous dilemma about him; it being no pity to permit, nor policy to punish, one protected with such potent patrons. Yea, in the issue of this synod, they only commanded him to forbear hereafter from preaching or writing his doctrines; and how far he promised conformity to their injunctions doth not appear."[†]

These were troublous times. There was a dangerous discord at Rome. Urban VI., and Clement VII.—the one at Rome, the other at Avignon—struggling for the mastery. "Peter's chair was like to be broken betwixt two sitting down at once;" as honest Fuller puts it.

* Stow, *Annales*.

† Fuller, *Church History*, ii. p. 342.

A few days more, and Edward III. lay dead. He was in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and the fiftieth of his reign. On the 21st of June he died, at his palace at Shene, deserted by all, even by Alice Perrers, who, before she fled, stole the very rings from the fingers of the dying man. A certain priest alone, of all the courtiers and attendants, stood by that solitary deathbed, and offered to the quivering lips the figure of the Crucified. The dying King devoutly kissed the feet of the image, and sought for pardon from his offended God and from all whom he had wronged: and so, alone, but for this faithful chaplain, breathed out his soul.* Let us hope that he found the pardon which he sought. His later sins may be the more easily forgiven, when it is remembered that he was mentally and physically the mere wreck of his former self.

About one-and-forty years after Wyclif's death, Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, who in his early years had adopted Wyclif's opinions but had afterwards renounced them, sent his officers, "vultures with a quick sight-scent at a dead carcase," to pull the remains of the Reformer from the quiet grave at Lutterworth. "To Lutterworth they come (Sumner, commissary, official, chancellor, proctors, doctors, and the servants, so that the remnant of the body would not hold out a bone amongst so many hands), take what was left out of the grave, and burnt them to ashes, and cast them into Swift, a neighbouring brook running hard

* Walsingham, i. p. 327.

by. Thus this brook hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean; and thus the ashes of Wyclif are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over.* Which things, as Professor Blunt pointedly observes, are an allegory.†

It was an easy task to burn the bones of Wyclif. It was impossible to root out his teaching, or to destroy the loving memory in which the people held him. Let two short stories suffice to show that the great Reformer lived in the hearts of the people.

When Hus appeared before the Emperor, a friend of his, one Stephen Paletz, said‡ that a Bohemian "brought out of England a certain small piece of the stone of Wyclif's sepulchre, which they that are the followers of his doctrine at this present do reverence and worship as a thing most holy." This is in 1416.

George Bull, of Much Hadham, draper, says§ "through the credence and report of Master Patmore, Parson of Hadham, that where Wyclif's bones were burnt, sprang up a well or well-spring." This is in 1531.

If the bones of Wyclif were to be sacrilegiously disturbed, those of Archbishop Sudbury also were to have some strange experiences.

On the 14th of June, 1381, the aged Archbishop,

* Fuller, *Church History*, ii. p. 424.

† *Sketch of the History of the Reformation*, chapt. v.

‡ Fox, iii. p. 484. § *Ibid.*, v. p. 34.

Simon Sudbury, was dragged from the Chapel within the Tower by the infuriated rabble under Wat Tyler. He had administered the Blessed Sacrament to the King, and this was his last act. A block was extemporised—an executioner was found—eight times the deadly axe fell upon the brave old man—first it slightly wounded his neck—then it amputated the tips of his fingers—at length the butchery was ended. His last recorded words were these,* “*Ah! ah! manus Domini est.*” His head is preserved in a niche in the wall of the Vestry of S. Gregory’s Church, Sudbury.† He was a native of that town, and a great benefactor. For six days the head had been exhibited at London Bridge. It was then taken down by Sir William Walworth. In due time, by a just retribution, Wat Tyler’s head was substituted for it. If Thomas of Walsingham is to be believed, his executioner was visited with insanity and with blindness.‡ Had the King himself been in the Tower at the moment when the Archbishop was seized, he, too, must have fallen into the hands of the rioters, for the men of Kent entered his very bedchamber;§ but he was hurried away just in time to escape from the most imminent danger.

* Hook’s *Lives of the Archbishops*, iv. pp. 309-313.

† I have seen it several times. Dean Hook says that it was conveyed to Canterbury, p. 312, therein following Godwin, *De Præfulibus.*

‡ *Historia Anglicana*, i. p. 461.

§ Canon Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, ii. p. 498.

OLLARDS' TOWER.



CHAPTER VII.

LOLLARDS' TOWER.

EVERY schoolboy has heard of Lollards' Tower, but it is not quite so certain that every one knows where this famous prison really stood. As the river steamboats pass under Westminster Bridge on their course upstream, those who are on board are attracted by "a broken, irregular pile of buildings, at whose angle looking out over the Thames is one grey, weather-beaten tower. The broken pile is the Archiepiscopal Palace of Lambeth ; the grey, weather-beaten building is called " its Lollards' Tower. " From this tower the mansion itself stretches in a varied line, chapel, and guard-room, and gallery, and the stately buildings of the new house looking out on the terrace and garden ; whilst the Great Hall, in which the Library has now found a home, is the low, picturesque building which reaches southward along the river to the gate." On the river face of the tower is a small vacant niche, once filled, it is said, by a statue of

S. Thomas à Becket, to which the watermen were wont to uncover their heads as they passed along the silent highway. At the base of the tower is a chamber, and in its centre "stands a large oaken pillar, to which the room owes its name of the *Post-Room*, and to which somewhat mythical tradition asserts Lollards to have been tied when they were 'examined' by the whip." Is this really Lollards' Tower? No—it is not. "Dr. Maitland has shown that the common name rests on a mere error, and that the Lollards' Tower which meets us so grimly in the pages of Fox was really a Western Tower of S. Paul's. But, as in so many other instances, the popular voice showed a singular historical tact in its mistake: the tower which Chichele raised marked more than any other, in the very date of its erection, the new age of persecution on which England was to enter. . . . It is strange to think how soon England answered to the challenge that Lollards' Tower flung out over the Thames. The white masonry had hardly grown grey under the buffetings of a hundred years ere Lollard was no longer a word of shame, and the reformation that Wyclif had begun sat enthroned within the walls of the chapel where he had battled for his life."*

Dr. Maitland, the late learned Librarian at Lambeth Palace, is careful to correct the popular error on this subject. Lollards' Tower, he says, was "the Bishop of London's prison at S. Paul's;" and he adds, "I mention this because the name has been (only, I

* J. R. Green's singularly graceful Essays on *Lambeth and the Archbishops* in his *Stray Studies*, pp. 109, 114, 120.

believe, in recent times), and quite improperly, applied to one of the Towers of Lambeth Palace.”* It is very difficult, however, to root out a popular error, and the mistake is constantly repeated even at the present time.

No reader of Stow’s *Survey* ought to have had any doubt about the matter. He says, in his account of the Cathedral, that “at either corner of this west end is, also of ancient building, a strong tower of stone, made for bell towers: the one of them, to wit, next to the Palace, is at this present to the use of the same Palace; the other, towards the south, is called the Lowlardes’ Tower, and hath been used as the Bishop’s Prison, for such as were detected for opinions in religion, contrary to the faith of the Church. . . . Adjoining to this Lowlardes’ Tower is the parish church of S. Gregory.”†

Are there any views of Lollards’ Tower still extant? This is a question somewhat difficult to answer. In Hollar’s grand view of the western façade of S. Paul’s are two low towers flanking the west front, but they are “little more than turrets, of a bastard Italian style.”‡ Perhaps the Tower is exhibited in Aggas’ *Map*, but one can hardly be sure that what is seen is not the tower of S. Gregory’s Church. Perhaps it is

* *Essays on Subjects connected with the Reformation in England.* Note on the *Examination of Thomas Green*, p. 24.

† Stow’s *Survey*, edited by Thoms, p. 138; and Strype’s *Stow*, i. p. 708.

‡ Mr. Edmund B. Ferrey in *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, i. p. 509.

shown in Van den Wyngaerde's drawing taken in 1540, but in a bird's-eye view the outlines are apt to be vague. One Thomas Stilman appears to have said, "that he, being in Lollards' Tower, did climb up the steeple where the bells were, and there, cutting the bell-ropes, did tie two of them together, and so by them slipped down into Paul's Churchyard, and escaped."* From which we may infer that Lollards' Tower was certainly a bell-tower, and probably a clock-tower also ; and, in fact, a clock-face is shown on the western front of the Tower in Hollar's view of Inigo Jones' Portico.

In Fox's *Acts and Monuments*† are two woodcuts which purport to represent the interior of this famous Prison. The first of these depicts the unfortunate Richard Hun, of whom more will be said presently, hanging from a beam in his cell. If the gaoler's height may be taken as six feet, and if we then use him as a standard of measurement, the dungeon would be about nine feet wide and eight feet high. The furniture consists of a bed with a bolster, a stool, and the stocks, which really stood "about seven or eight foot from the place where Hun was hanged." The stocks would hold four persons. The second woodcut probably represents another cell. The inevitable stocks still form a prominent feature, but this time they are large enough to hold six persons. It is quite possible that both these woodcuts are purely works of the imagination ; for it is not likely that visitors were ad-

* Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iv. p. 230, in 1518-21.

† In the edition printed in 1641, ii. p. 15 ; iii. p. 413.

mitted to take sketches in the prison : and it is certain that, as in the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, so in the *Acts and Monuments*, the same woodcut often represents individuals widely separated in date and in station. Trusting to the short memory or the uncritical temper of his readers, Fox is bold enough to employ the same woodcut at least a dozen times to depict different persons : but I do not observe that *these* two woodcuts are repeated, a circumstance which may be taken, perhaps, as a note of truth. No doubt many a poor captive, if he escaped alive from his prison house, would carry away with him an indelible image of the narrow walls that had echoed back his prayers and sighs. His descriptions would be vivid enough to guide the artist's pencil.

The contiguity of a Prison to the Church seems to modern ideas most incongruous ; but our forefathers do not appear to have shared this view. The famous prison in Lambeth Palace is reached by a rude stair, to which access is gained through a doorway hard by the graceful arch which gives entrance to the Chapel. The massive oak door studded with nails probably prevented the sweet sounds of choral hymns from reaching the ears of the wretched captives, and the seven iron rings bolted into the wall still remain to tell the sad tale of their miserable bondage.

The stocks in the dungeon at S. Paul's had a very evil reputation. In a rare tract entitled the *Lyfe and Death of John Story*, 1571, reprinted in the Somers' *Collection of Tracts*,* are some remarkable details about them. The writer says that Dr. Story

"was committed to the Lollardes tower in Powles but he lacked there one thing, which was the monstrous and houge stockes, that he and Boner, his old faithful friend, had used to turmoyle and persecute the poore and innocent Christians in, hanging some therin by the heles so high, that only their heads laye on the ground. Some were stocked in both feet and armes, some also were stocked by both their feet and by both their thombes, and so did hang in the stockes. And some also were stocked by both theyre fete, and chyned by the necke wyth collars of iron made fast behynde theim to a post in the wall, and such other develishe and tyrannus engynes and devyses by hym practised. These at his beinge in the Lollardes tower he myssed, and great pitie it was that he had not tasted of theym; but alack the good bishop Gryndall, late bishop of London, had brent and consumed theym with fire."

Certainly, if the writer represents the public opinion of his day, there was little difference between the contending parties as to their love for the dungeon and the stocks. It is very likely that the stocks were consumed in 1561, in the second year of Grindal's episcopate, in the great fire which destroyed the lofty spire of the Cathedral.

A very graphic account of this part of S. Paul's is to be found in the *Examinations and Writings* of

* Vol. i. p. 477, edit. 1809. I am indebted to Mr. Solly for this interesting passage. *Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, x. p. 474.

John Philpot;* he shall tell his story in his own words: "And he [Bishop Bonner] followed me, calling the keeper aside, commanding to keep all men from me, and narrowly to search me (as the sequel did declare), and brought me to his privy door that goeth into the church, and commanded two of his men to accompany the keeper, and to see me placed. And afterwards I passed through Pauls up to the Lollards' Tower, and after that turned along all the West side of Pauls through the wall, and passing through six or seven doors came to my lodging through many straits: where I called to remembrance that *strait is the way to heaven*. And it is in a tower, right on the other side of Lollards' Tower, as high almost as the battlement of Pauls, eight feet of breadth and thirteen of length, and almost over the prifon where I was before, having a window opening toward the east, by the which I may look over the tops of a great many houses, but see no man passing into them: and whofo walketh in the bishop's outer gallery going to his chapel may see my window, and me standing in the same." From this passage it would appear that the Northern Tower as well as the Southern was used as a prison: the Northern Tower closely adjoined the Bishop's Palace.

Those who had once tasted the rigours of this prison retained an indelible recollection of its horrors. Honest old Latimer says, "I had rather be in purga-

* Parker Society, pp. 86, 87. Compare also Fox, *octavo* edition, vii. pp. 647, 648.

tory, than in the Bishop of London's Prison; for in this I might die bodily for lack of meat, in that I could not." And again, writing to Morice, he says, "I had rather be in it [i.e., in purgatory] than in Lollards' Tower, the Bishop's Prison, for divers skills and causes."* In Bishop Pilkington's *Burnyng of Paules Church*, he does not omit to mention the sad memories that hung about the walls: "in the top of one of the pinacles is Lollers towre, where manye an innocent soule hais bene by theym cruellye tormented and murthered."

Nor were the two Western Towers the only places of imprisonment near to the Palace. The *Bishop's Coal House* at the back of the Palace in Paternoster Row had also a very evil reputation. Thomas Whittle dates a letter addressed to his "Prison fellows in Lollards' Tower" from "the *Coal House* this 4th day of December," 1556.†

Here one Thomas Green remained for many days (for twenty days, at least, it would appear), and here a bolt and fetter were placed upon his right leg, and on his left hand another, and so he was set "crossetted" in the stocks, where he lay a day and a night. The next day his hand was loosed out of the stocks, and his leg only was shut in; there he remained six days. He was then examined by Dr. Story, Queen Mary's Commissioner. More prisoners were brought in: whereupon Mistress Story fell in a rage, and sware a

* Bishop Latimer, *Sermons and Remains* (Parker Society), pp. 237, 361.

† Fox, octavo edition, *Acts and Monuments*, vii. p. 725.

great oath, that it were a good deed to put a hundred or two of these heretic knaves in a house, "and I myself," said she, "would set it on fire." After this Thomas Green was committed to prison again for fourteen days more. By-and-by we have a picture of Bishop Bonner himself, "in his hose and doublet," coming down a pair of stairs by the side of the *Coal-House*, and looking in at the grate, as one might look at some curious wild animal, and asking why and by whom he was imprisoned. His feet and hands were manacled, and so he had continued ten days with nothing to lie upon but bare stones or a board. Presently he is removed from the Bishop's *Salt-House*, as he calls it, to the Lollards' Tower, where he was kept in the stocks more than a month, both day and night.* It was thus that religious people tried to persuade, convince, convert each other.

The case of Richard Hun, a prisoner in the Lollards' Tower, who, one unhappy morning (4th December, 1514) was found hanging from a beam in his dungeon, is familiar to all the readers of Fox.† It was charged against the Chancellor of the diocese that he had murdered Hun. Thus, in the *Supplication of Beggars*, it is said :‡

"Did not also Dr. Horsey [the Bishop's Chancellor] and his complices, most heinously (as all the world knoweth) murder in prison that honest merchant,

* Fox, viii. pp. 521-523. It is only right, however, to refer those who wish to study this subject, to Dr. Maitland's keen analysis of the whole story in his *Reformation Essays*, pp. 18-27.

† Fox, iv. pp. 183-197.

‡ *Ibid.*, iv. p. 663.

Richard Hun, for that he sued a writ of *premunire* against a priest that wrongfully held him in plea in a spiritual court, for a matter whereof the knowledge belongeth to your highness?"

And again, in 1555, when Robert Smith is examined before Bishop Bonner,* he speaks of—

"Master Hun, whom your predecessor caused to be thrust in at the nose with hot burning needles, and then to be hanged, and said the same Hun to have hanged himself."

To whom Bonner fiercely replies :

"Ah! ye are a generation of liars, there is not one true word that cometh out of your mouths."

Fox prints at considerable length *The Verdict of the Inquest* which was called to examine into the causes of Hun's death, together with the depositions of many witnesses. The jury, which consisted of twenty-four men, gave it as their verdict that the faid Richard Hun was "feloniously killed and murdered" by the Chancellor, William Horsey, clerk, and one Charles Joseph, sumner, and John Spalding, otherwife called John the Bellringer.

It is scarcely possible, at this distance of time, to disentangle the truth from the perplexed stories which have reached us. The death of Richard Hun, however, is referred to several times by Tyndale, and by Bishop Bale in very strong terms.† Whether he was

* Fox, octavo edition, *Acts and Monuments*, vii. p. 351; and see also Maitland, *Reformation*, p. 530.

† Tyndale, *Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue* (Parker Society), pp. 146, 166, 167; Bale, *Image of both Churches* (Parker Society), p. 395.

murdered, or was *felo-de-se*, may be left to students of Fox and Maitland : it is quite certain that very different views will be taken of the matter by different readers.

It is, of course, very easy to utter the usual common-places about the barbarity of the prelates and the horrors of these dungeons. Our hearts, heaven be praised, revolt from the atrocious cruelties freely practised by men of both parties under the holy name of religion. We must remember, however, the customs of the age in which they lived and the long-continued prevalence of judicial torture. When Damiens attempted the life of Louis XV., at Versailles, 5th January, 1757, it is said that M. de Mauchault, the Keeper of the Seals, tortured the miserable creature, "un pauvre fou," as Messrs. Bordier and Charton call him,* with his own hands. "He thrust tongs into the fire, and, when they were red-hot, he began singeing with his own hands the unfortunate Damiens' legs, taking care never to pinch the same part of the leg twice, so that more acute suffering might be inflicted." The torturer then caused Damiens' legs "to be exposed to a fire until they were but one sore : and, as he was still silent, he threatened to throw him into the flames." The details of Damiens' execution are, simply, too dreadful to be set down on paper. This painful incident is cited, not because our own history does

* *Histoire de France*, ii. p. 379.

not supply horrors enough, but because it would not be easy to find a high Minister of State so late as 1757 so utterly lost to all sense of humanity and even of personal dignity as with his own hands to torture *un pauvre fou*. Let us judge as harshly as you will the atrocities of the period, but let us, in justice to the men, whether Roman or Reformed, remember the time in which they lived, and the tedious and slow steps by which we ourselves have attained to our present light. We, ourselves, have yet much to learn.

It must not be forgotten that our own Statute Book contained till the reign of George III. provisions for inflicting judicial torture. "In the case of such as at their trial refuse to plead *guilty* or *not guilty*, the prisoner is laid upon his back, his arms and legs being extended with cords, and a considerable weight laid upon his breast ; he is allowed only three morsels of barley-bread, which is given him the next day without drink, after which he is allowed nothing but foul water until he expires. This punishment is, however, seldom inflicted ; but some offenders have chosen it *in order to preserve their estates for their children*. Those guilty of this crime are not now suffered to undergo such a length of torture, but have so great a weight placed on them that they soon expire."* This atrocious punishment was inflicted so late as 1741, when one Henry Cook, a shoemaker of Stratford, was sentenced to death for highway robbery. "On Cook's refusing to plead there was a new press made and

* *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, vol. i. p. 412.

fixed in the proper place in the press-yard, there having been no person pressed since the famous (?) Spiggott the highwayman, which is about twenty years ago. Burnworth, *alias* Frasier, was pressed at Kingston in Surrey, about sixteen years ago.* The law first appears in the Statute Book, 8 Henry IV., and was not abolished till 12 George III. c. 20, which enacts that all persons refusing to plead shall be held to be guilty. It seems incredible that such cruelty could have been perpetrated under the sacred name of Justice at so late a date as 1741, but the facts, it is to be feared, are indisputable. They will teach us to moderate our censures, or at least to apportion them with an equal hand.

The last prisoner committed to Lollards' Tower was one Peter Burchet, gentleman, of the Middle Temple, who, in the year 1573, had desperately wounded and was minded to have murdered "a serviceable gentleman named John Hawkings, Esquire, in the high street near unto the Strand." Peter Burchet was taken and examined, and "was found to hold certain Opinions erroneous, and therefore committed thither and convicted; but in the end, by persuasion, he promised to abjure his heresies, and was by the commandment of the Council, removed from thence to the Tower of London." So far Stow, in his *Survey*.† In

* *The Universal Spectator*, No. 674, quoted in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, vol. i. p. 500.

† Stow's *Survey*, by Strype, i. p. 708.

his Annals* he gives a fuller account of the matter, and enables us to understand what the “persuasion” was under which Burchet recanted. It appears that sentence of death was about to be pronounced against him “as an hereticke,” and that then, “through the earnest perswasions of diuers learned men, who tooke great paines in that matter, hee renounced, forswore, and abiured his opinions.” The attack on Hawkings took place on October 11th; Burchet was committed to the Tower, where being examined he said that the person whom he had intended to attack was Sir Christopher Hatton; his heretical opinions having been detected he was sent to the Lollards’ Tower, and examined in the Consistory Court of S. Paul’s; sentence of death was to have been pronounced on November 4th, but he escaped this by abjuration; on November 9th he was remitted to the Tower, where the next day he murdered his keeper; the following day he was arraigned and condemned at Westminster; and on November 12th was hanged on a gibbet “nigh to the place where hee wounded master Hawkings. He had no speech, nor shewed signe of repentance, but was by force and strength of men partly drawne, partly borne and thrust up to the gibbet, where, after his right hand being stricken off and nayled to the gibbet, he was hanged.” Such was the tragical end of this violent malefactor: the last prisoner in Lollards’ Tower.

* Stow’s *Annals*, by Howes, pp. 677, 678.

THE GREAT FIRE OF 1561.



CHAPTER VIII.

THE GREAT FIRE OF 1561.

FIRE has been always the implacable foe of S. Paul's Cathedral. The ancient Statutes strictly enjoin the *Custos Operis*, or *Surveyor*, not only to examine the roof of the Church with great care after heavy rains, but, especially, to be very watchful when plumbers were at work upon it, lest the fires which they employed to melt the lead should attack the fabric itself. Reference has been already made* to the fire in 961, in which, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*, "the monastery of S. Paul's was burnt." On the 7th of July, 1087, according to the *Chroniculi S. Pauli*, "the Church of S. Paul, London, and all things which were therein, was consumed by fire, in the time of Maurice, Bishop of London, in the reign of William the first King of the Normans."† After this Bishop Maurice laid the

* *Supra*, p. 8.

† See my *Documents*, p. 58; and *Statutes*, p. 477, for a similar entry in one of the MSS. in the Cathedral Record Room.

foundation of a most magnificent pile of which William of Malmesbury says, that it was "so stately and beautiful that it was worthily numbered amongst the most famous buildings; the vaults or undercroft being of such extent and the upper structure so large that it was sufficient to contain a great number of people."* But ere long this grand structure shared the fate of its predecessor; in 1137 according to the *Chroniculi S. Pauli*, on December 22, 1136, according to Dugdale, "the Church of S. Paul was consumed by a fire kindled at London Bridge, which burnt until it reached the church outside the Bars of the New Temple," that is, the Church of S. Clement Danes.† "In ancient times the greater part of the City was built of wood, and the houses were covered with straw and stubble and the like. Hence it happened that when a single house had caught fire, the greater part of the City was destroyed through such conflagration." After this fire the citizens, desiring to avoid such a calamity in future, "built stone houses upon their foundations, covered with thick tiles, and so protected against the fury of the flames: whence it has often been the case, that when a fire has broken out in the City and has destroyed many buildings, upon reaching such houses it has been unable to do further mischief, and has been there extinguished; so that, through such a house as

* Dugdale, p. 4.

† *Documents*, p. 58; and Dugdale, p. 5: his words are, "on the xj. Cal. of January, in the very first year of King Stephen's reign."

this, many houses of the neighbours have been saved from being burnt."*

Again, on February 1, 1445, as the *Grey Friars Chronicle* relates, 'Thys yere on Candelmas evyne was gret thunder and tempest, that Powlles stepulle on the sowth-west syde marvelusly was sett a fyer, and the stepull of Kyngstone up Temse brent, and many men slayne.' Stow's account, in his *Annals*, is more full and circumstantial : "On Candlemas eeven, in diuers places of England, was great weathering of wind, hayle, snow, raine, thunders with lightning, whereby the Church of Baldock in Hertfordshire, and Church of Walden in Essex, and diuers others were sore shaken, and the Steeple of S. Paul's in London, about two of the clocke in the afternoone was set on fire in the middest of the Shaft, first on the West side and then on the South, and the people espying the fire, came to quench it in the Steeple which they did with vinegar, so farre as they could find, so that when the Maior with much people came to Pauls, to haue holpen if neede had beene, they returned againe euery man to his home, trusting to God all had beene well, but anon after between eight and nine of the clocke, the fire brast againe out of the Steeple, more feruent then before, and did much hurt to the Lead and Timber thereof, but the Maior and much people came thither, and with vinegar quenched the fire that was feruent, so that no man was perished. The Steeple

* *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs*, edited by H. T. Riley, pp. 184, 185.

of Waltham in Essex and of Kingstone in Surrey was also fired by the same lightning. The fire at Pauls being quenched, a Standard of tree* being set up at Leaden Hall, in Cornehil of London, made fast in the midst of the pavement, and decked with Holme and Iuy for disport of Christmas to the people of the Citty, it was torne and cast downe with such violence that the stones of the pavement were cast about in the streete and into diuers mens houses, to the great terrorre of the people that neuer had seene so strange a tempest." Dugdale adds that the fire, although "happily quenched by the morrow māſſ priest of Bow, did ſuch harm therein that it was not ſufficiently repaired till the year 1462," when a costly weathercock made of copper and gilt was ſet up.†

The feat of putting out the fire with vinegar recalls irresistibly Hannibal's paſſage of the Alps, when, as Livy says, the ſoldiers of the advancing army having heated the rocks by great fires of wood, diſintegrated them by pouring vinegar upon the heated ſtone.‡

* That is, *of wood*.

† Dugdale, p. 95.

‡ The whole ſentence runs thus :—"Inde ad rupem muniedam, per quam unam via eſſe poterat, milites duci, quum cædendum eſſet saxum, arboribus circa immanibus dejectis detrunca- tisque, ſtruem ingentem lignorum faciunt : eamque (quum et vi- venti apta faciendo igni coorta eſſet), ſuccendunt ardentiaque faxa infuso acetō putrefaciunt," Livy, xxi. 37. A very curious diſcussion of this paſſage will be found in *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, vol. ii. pp. 289, 350, 443, 490, 534, vol. iii. p. 136 : where it is ſuggested that Livy may have been miſled by the ſimilarity of the Latin word *acetum*, vinegar, to the Italian *accetta*, a pick-axe ; and very unexpected confirmation is given to this fanciful

Lightning-conductors had not then been discovered, but the authorities of the Cathedral had done their best, according to their knowledge, to avert "the flame of fier," for, in 1314, they had replaced in the bowl of the Cross at the summit of the spire many relics of saints, "for the protection of the tower and of the whole building."* Amongst the relics were a piece of the True Cross, a stone from the Sepulchre of the Lord, a stone from the Mount of the Ascension, and another stone from Calvary. Some bones of the Eleven Thousand Virgins of Cologne were also added, wrapped in a piece of red sental. These relics were exhibited to the people by the Chancellor of the Cathedral during his sermon on S. Botolph's Day, June 17, and were afterwards replaced in the Cross, together with many other similar treasures. The Divines of the Reformation period were not slow to remember this day's proceedings. "We needed not to fear," says one of them, "(if your opinion were true) the burning any more of Paul's. Make a cross on the steeple, and so it shall be safe. But within these few years it had a cross and reliques in the bowl, to boot: yet they prevailed not; yea, the cross itself was fired first."†

suggestion by a communication from the well-known scholar George Stephens, in which he quotes from King Alfred's Old-English version of *Orosius* a passage describing Hannibal's journey over the Alps, concluding thus: "So when he came to the separate rock, he ordered it to be heated with fire, and then to be hewed with mattocks."

* *Documents*, p. 45.

† Calthill's *Answer to Marshall*, p. 180 (Parker Society).

Amongst all the conflagrations which have made havoc with the Cathedral, the Great Fire of 1561 holds a very prominent place. We will give a contemporary account of it, and we can scarcely do so in better fashion than by printing *verbatim et literatim* a tract, extremely rare, if not unique, preserved in the British Museum :

THE TRVE REPORT OF THE BURNYNG OF THE
STEPLE AND CHURCHE OF POULES IN LONDON.

¶ Jeremy. xviii.

I wyll speake suddenlye agaynst a nation, or agaynste a kyngedome, to plucke it vp, and to roote it out, and distroye it. But yf that nation, agaynste whome I haue pronounced, turne from their wickednes, I wyll repent of the plague that I thought to brynge vpon them.

Imprynted at London, at the west ende of Paules Church, at the sygne of the Hedghogge by Wyllyam Seres.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum. Anno.
1561. The x. of Iune.

¶ THE TRUE REPORTE OF THE BURNINGE OF THE
STEPLE AND CHURCH OF PAULES IN LONDON.

On Wednesday beinge the fourthe daye of June, in the yeare of our Lord. 1561. and in the thyrde yeare of the reigne of our soueraygne Ladie Elizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, Fraunce and

Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. betweene one and two of the clocke at after noone, was feene a marueilous great fyrie lightning, and immediately insued a most terrible hydeous cracke of thunder, suche as seldome hath been heard, and that by estimacion of sense, directlye ouer the Citie of London. At which instante the corner of a turret of ye steple of saint Martins Churche within Ludgate was torne, and diuers great stones casten down, and a hole broken throughe the roofoe & timber of the said church, by the fall of the same stones.

For diuers persones in tyme of the saide tempest being on the riuier of Thamys, and others beyng in the fieldes nere adioyning to ye Citie, affirmed that thei saw a long and a speare pointed flame of fier (as it were) runne through the toppe of the Broche or Shaft of Paules Steple, from the Easte Westwarde. And some of the parish of saint Martins then being in the streate, dyd feele a marueylous strong ayre or whorlewynd, with a smel lyke brimstone, comming from Paules Churche, and withal heard the rushe of ye stones which fell frō their steple into the churche. Betwene iii. and fие of the clocke a smoke was espied by diuers to breake oute vnder the bowle of the said shaf of Paules, & namely by Peter Johnson principall Registrer to the Bishop of Londō, who immediatly brought worde to the Bishops house. But sodeinly after, as it wer in a momente, the flame brake furth in a circle like a garlande rounde about the broche, about two yards to thestimation of eight vnder the bowle of the said shaft, & increased in suche wise, that

within a quarter of an howre, or little more, the crosse & the Egle on the toppe fell downe vpon the south crosse Ile. The Lord Maior being sent for, & his brethren, came with all spedē possible, & had a short consultaciō as in such a case might be, with ye Bishop of London and others, for ye best way of remedy. And thither came also ye Lord Keper of ye great Seale, & the Lord Treasurer, who by their wisedom and authoritie dyrected as good order, as in so great a confusio could possible be.

Some there wer, pretēding experience in warres, that couēceled the remanente of the steple to bee shot down with Canons, whiche counsel was not liked, as most perilous both for the dispersing the fire, and destruciō of houses and people, other perceiuing the steple to be past al recouery, considering the hugenes of the fier, & the dropping of the lead, thought beste to geat ladders & scale the churche, & with axes to hew down a space of the roofe of the Churche, to stay the fier, at the leaste to saue some part of the faide churche, whiche was concluded. But before ye ladders & buckets could be brought, & things put in any order, and especially because the churche was of such height, that thei could not skale it, & no sufficiente nomber of axes could be had, ye laborers also being troubled with ye multitude of ydle gasers, the moste parte of the higheste roofe of the Churche was on fier.

Fyrst the fall of the Crosse and Egle fired the southe crosse Ile, whiche Ile was firste consumed, the beames & brands of the steple fell down on euery side, & fired the other thre partes, that is to saye, the Chauncel or

Quier, the north Ile, & the body of the church. So that in one howres space ye broch of the steple was brent downe to ye battlementes, and the most part of ye highest roofof the churche, likewise consumed. The state of the steple & churche seming both desperate: my Lord Mayor was aduised by one Maister Winter of ye admiraltie, to conuerte the mooste part of his care & prouisiō to preserue the Bishops palace adioynyng to the Northwest end of the church: least frō that house beinge large, the fier might sprede to the stretes adioyning. Wherupon the ladders, buckets, & laborers, were commaunded thither, & by greate labor & diligence, a piece of ye roofof the Northe Ile was cut down, & the fier so stayed and by muche water, that parte quenched, and ye said Bishops house preserued. It pleased god also at the same tyme bothe to turne & calme the winde, which afore was vehemēt, & continued stil high & greate in other partes without ye citie. There wer aboue v. c. persons yt laboured in carying & fillīg water &c. Diuers substancial Citizens toke paynes as if thei had bene laborers, so did also diuers & sondrye gentlemen, whose names wer not knownen to the writer hereof, but amongst other, the said M. Winter, & one M. Stranguish, did both take notable paines in their own persons, & also much directed and encouraged other, and that not without great daūger to thēselves. In ye euening came the Lord Clinton, Lord admiral, frō ye court at Grenewiche, whō the Queenes maiesty assone as the rage of the fier was espied by her maestye and others in the court, of the pitifull inclinacion & loue that her gracious

highnesse dyd beare both to ye said church & the citie, sente to assyft my Lorde Mayor for the suppressyng of the fyre, who with his wysdome, authority & diligēt trauayl did very much good therein. About x. of the clocke the fyercenes of the fyre was past, the tymbre being fallen and lyinge brenninge vpon the vaultes of stone, the vaultes yet (god be thanked) standynge vnperished : so as onelye the tymbre of the hole church was consumed, & the lead molten, sauynge the most parte of the two lowe Iles of the Queare, and a piece of the north Ile, and an other smal piece of ye southe Ile, in the bodye of the churche. Nowithstandynge all which, it pleased the merciful god in his wrath to remēbre his mercie, and to enclose the harme of this most fyerce and terrible fyre, wythin the walles of thys one church, not extending any part of his wrath in this fyre vpon the rest of the Citie, whiche to all reason and fence of man was subiect to vtter distruktion. For in the hole city without the churche no stycke was kyndled surelye. Notwithstanding that in diuerse partes, and stretes, and within the houses bothe adioyninge and of a good distaunce, as in fletestreete, & newgate market, by the violence of fyre, burninge coles of greate bignesse, fell downe almoost as thicke as haylstones, and flawes of lead were blowen abrode into the gardins without ye Citie, like flawes of snow in bredthe wtoute hurt, god be thanked, to any house or persō. Many fond talkes goe abrode of the original cause of this fier. Some say, it was negligence of plumbers, whereas by due examinacion it is proued that no plumbers or other workemen labored in the

churche for sixe monethes before. Other suspect it was done by som wicked practise of wildfyer or gun-pouder, but no iust suspicions thereof by any examination can be founde hitherto. Some suspect coniurers & forcerers, wherof there is also no great likelyhode. And if it hadde bene wrought yt waie, yet could not the deuil haue done it, without Gods permisiō, & to some purpose of his vnsercheable iudgemēts, as appereth in the story of Job. The true cause as it semeth, was the tēpest by gods suffrance: for it cannot be otherwise gathered, but that at ye said great & terrible thunderclap, when sainte Martins steple was torne, the lightning which by natural order smiteth ye highest, did first smite ye top of Paules steple, and entring in at the small holes which haue alwaies remained open for building skaffoldes to the workes, & finding the timber very olde & drie, did kindle ye same, & so ye fier increasing grew to a flame & wrought ye effecte which folowed, most terrible then to behold, & now most lamentable to looke on.

On Sonday folowyng beyng the viii. day of June, the reuerend in god, the Bishop of Duresme, at Paules crosse made a learned & fruitful sermon, exhorting the auditory to a general repentance, & namely to humble obediēce of the lawes & superior powers, whiche vertue is muche decayed in these our daies: seming to haue intellygēce from the Queenes highnes, that her maiestie intendeth that more feueritie of lawes shalbe executed against perfons disobedient, aswell in causes of religiō, as ciuil, to the great reioysing of his auditors. He exhorted also hys audiēce to take this as a

generall warninge to the whole realme, & namelye to the citie of London, of some greater plague to folow, if amendemente of lyfe in all States did not ensue: He much reproued those persons whiche woulde assigne the cause of this wrathe of god to any perticular state of mē, or that were diligent to loke into other mens lyues, & coulde see no faultes in themselves: but wished that euery man wold descend into himselfe and say with Dauid *Ego sum qui peccavi*, I am he that hathe sinned, and so furth to that effect verye godlye. He also not onely reproued the prophanatyon of the said Churche of Paules of longe time hertofore abused by walkīg, iangling, brawling, fighting, bargaining. &c. namely in Sermons & seruice time: but also aūswered by the way to the obiectiōs of such euil tunged persōs, which do impute this token of gods deserued ire, to alteraciō, or rather reformaciō of religiō, declaring out of aūcient records & histories, y^e like, yea & greater maters had befallen in y^e time of supersticio & ignorance. For in y^e first yere of King Stephā not only ye said church of Paules was brēt, but also a great part of y^e city, y^t is to say, frō Londō bridge vnto S. Clemēts without Tēple bar was by fier cōsumed. And in y^e daies of King Hēry y^e VI. ye steple of Paules was also fired by lightning, although it was then staide by diligēce of y^e Citizens, y^e fier being thē by likelyhode not so fierce. Many other suche like cōmon calamities he rehersed, whiche had happened in other coūtreis, both nigh to this realm & far of, where ye church of Rome hath most auuthority, & therefore cōcluded ye surest way to be, y^t euery man should iudge, examin,

& amēd himselfe, & embrace, beleue, and truely folow
y^e word of god, & earnestly to pray to god to turn
away frō vs his deserued wrath & indignaciō, whereof
this his terrible work is a most certein warning, if we
repent not vnfeinedly. The whiche god grāt maye
come to passe in all estates & degrees, to ye glory of
his name and to oure endlesse conforte in Christ our
sauour. Amen.

God sau the Queene.

This pamphlet, which appears to have been taken from the official report of the Fire entered in Bishop Grindal's Register,* made its appearance also in Latin and in French. It is exceedingly rare in all its forms. There is a copy of the Latin tract in the Public Record Office, and a copy of the French tract in the Cathedral Library.†

The ballad-writers were not slow to discourse of the calamity, after their fashion. Mr. Payne Collier has printed in his *Registers of the Stationers' Company* the following quaint verses entitled :

THE BURNING OF PAULES.

Lament eche one the blazing fire
That downe from heaven came,
And burnt S. Powles his lofty spyre
With lightnings furious flame.
Lament, I say,
Both night and day,
Sith London's fins did cause the same.

* Printed for the first time in my *Documents*, pp. 113-119.

† See *Documents*, pp. 203-206.

The fire came downe from heaven soone,
 But did not strike the crosse.
 At fower in the afternoone,
 To our most grevous losse.
 Could nothing stay
 The sad decay :
 The lead was molten into drosse.

For five long howers the fire did burn
 The roof and timbers strong :
 The bells fell downe, and we must mourne,
 The wind it was so strong,
 It made the fier
 To blaze the higher,
 And doe the church still greater wrong.

O, London ! think on thine amisse,
 Which brought this great mishap ;
 Remember how thou livde in blisse,
 And layde in vices lap.
 O, now begin,
 Repent thy fin,
 And say it shall no more entrap.

Mr. Chappell has discovered the music to which the ballad was sung.*

No wonder that London should be called upon to "lament the blazing fire." It entirely destroyed the beautiful spire, whose height far exceeded that of Salisbury ; great part of the roof was burnt ; the Chapter House and the exquisite Cloisters were very seriously injured. Divine service was transferred to S. Gregory's. "The xxij of June, was mydsomer evyn, the serves at Sant Gregore chyrche be-fyd Powlles [by] the Powlles quer tyll Powlles be rede

* *Documents*, p. 211.

mad," says Machyn. Not till November in the same year "was begone the serves at Powlles to syng, and ther was a grett comunyon ther begane, the byshope and odur," as the same annalist testifies. Huge scaffolds were erected with a view to the repair of the ruined tower.

"Have you not seen a Hench boy lac'd all o're
So thick, you could not tell what cloth he wore?
Have you heard not the oaths of country people,
They could not for the scaffolds see Paul's steeple."

So writes Edmund Gayton in 1654. The ultimate fate of these scaffolds will be told in a later chapter.

In some *Memoranda* by John Stow lately printed for the first time,* it is said that the Croſs fell southward, "and so the ſphere byrnt downward lyke as a candil conſumyng, to ye ſtone werke and ye bells, and fo ye rouffe of ye churche, and thorow ye rouffes of ye churche all fowre ways, east, west, northe and fowthe. With in ye qwiers or chawnſylls was brynt no thyng but only ye communion table, and in ye reſt of ye churche was brynt nothing but a fartayn tymber werke† whiche ſtode at ye northe-west pyllar of ye ſtepull, which was fyeryd with ye tymber that fell in to ye churche owt of ye ſteple; whiche was a lamentable fyghte and pytyfull remembraunce to all people that have ye feare of God before theyr eyes, conſyderynge it was ye hous of owre Lord, erectyd to prayes hym and pray to hym, ye beawty of ye fyte of

* By Mr. James Gairdner, in *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles* (Camden Society), p. 136.

† This was the Chapel of S. Paul. *Stow*, p. 126.

London, ye beawty of ye holle Reallme. A mynster of suche worthy, stronge, and costly buldynge, so large, so pleasant and delectable, it passyd all comparyson, not only of mynstyrs within thys realme but ells where as sure as travayll hathe taught ws in other realmes ethar Cristyn or hethyn. Wherfore feare we God that so sore hathe chatysyd us, and let ws well know that he whiche hathe not spayrd his owne hous wyll not spare owres, exscept we repent owr formor wykyd lyffe and serve hym in holynys and newenys of lyffe, with a parffyt faythe in God and parffyt charytye to owr neyghbour, ye whyche our Lorde for his byttar passyon grawnt. Amen."

"Within one month after the firing of the church all the fower greate roofes wer covered with a sleight roofe of boordes and leade, onely to preserve the walles, floores and vaultes from the enjurie of the rayne. And before the yeare was expired, all the long rooffes wer rayfed of new and strong timber, the most part whereof was framed in Yorkshire, and by sea conveyed to London ; the charges of which worke amounted to the summe of 5,982*li* 13*s* 4*d ob.* Soe the receites wer fully expended ; and yett the two crosse roofes which stand north and south were not finished, but remayned still covered with boardes untill the yeare 1564. At which tyme they wer rayfed and perfected at the onely charge of Edmund Grindall, then Bishopp of London ; whoe expended out of his proper estate 720*li* in finishing that worke."*

* *Annals of the First Four Years of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, by Sir John Hayward (Camden Society), pp. 87-91.

The story of the Great Fire of 1666, which overwhelmed in one common destruction the grand Cathedral and the City of London, has been so well and so often told, that it needs no recital here.



PAUL'S CROSS: ITS EARLY HISTORY.



CHAPTER IX.

PAUL'S CROSS : ITS EARLY HISTORY.

 PULPIT Crofs, from which the Word of God might be preached to a congregation gathered in the open air, under the blue vault of heaven, was by no means an uncommon adjunct to a church. To mention two examples only, in the City of London: the Church of S. Michael, Cornhill, had on its south side "a proper cloister and a fair churchyard (not much unlike to that in Paule's churchyard")*) in which a crofs was built by Sir John Rudstone, mayor, who died in 1531 and was buried in a vault beneath it. The Hospital called S. Mary Spital, without Bishopsgate, had also its pulpit crofs, with "a fair built house of two stories in height, for the Mayor and other honourable persons, with the aldermen and sheriffs, to sit in, there to hear

* Stow, *Survey*, p. 75, edition 1603, reprinted by Mr. Thoms, 1876.

the sermons preached in the Easter holidays. In the loft over them stood the Bishop of London and other prelates ; now," says Stow,* " the ladies and aldermen's wives do there stand at a fair window, or sit at their pleasure. And here it is to be noted that time out of mind it hath been a laudable custom that on Good Friday, in the afternoon, some especial learned man, by appointment of the prelates, hath preached a sermon at Paules Crofs, treating of Christ's Passion ; and upon the three next Easter holidays, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the like learned men, by the like appointment, have used to preach in the forenoons at the said Spittle, to persuade the Article of Christ's Resurrection ; and then on Low Sunday, one other learned man at Paules Crofs, to make rehearsal of those four former sermons, either commanding or reproving them, as to him by judgement of the learned divines was thought convenient. And that done, he was to make a sermon of his own study, which in all were five sermons in one. At these sermons, so severally preached, the Mayor, with his brethren the aldermen, were accustomed to be present in their violets at Paules on Good Friday, and in their scarlets at the Spittle in the holidays, except Wednesday in violet, and the Mayor with his brethren on Low Sunday in scarlet at Paules Crofs, continued until this day." The Edition of Stow's *Survey* here quoted is that of 1603. In our own time, the Lord Mayor and his brethren still meet at Christ Church, Newgate Street,

* Stow, *Survey*, p. 63.

on the Monday and Tuesday in Easter Week, to hear what are called the Spital Sermons.

A story is told of Bishop Warburton that, dining with the Lord Mayor after preaching one of these Spital Sermons, his host said to him that "the Common Council were much obliged to his Lordship, for that this was the first time he ever heard them prayed for." "I considered them," said Warburton, "as a body who much needed the prayers of the Church."*

But of all the Pulpit Crosses, in and near London, that which stood in S. Paul's Churchyard, and was called Paul's Cross, has by far the most interesting history. It is mentioned by Fabyan in his *New Chronicles of England and France*,† as early as the year 1256, when a roll, found in the King's wardrobe at Windsor, which contained divers articles against the Mayor and rulers of the City of London, affirming that they had grievously tasked and wronged the commonalty of the City, was read aloud to the people. The King sent John Mancell "one of his iustycys vnto London; and there in ye feest of ye conuersyon of seynt Pawle, by the Kynges auctoryte, callyd at Pawlys crosse a folkmoote, beynge there present syr Rycharde de Clare, erle of Glowcetyr, and dyuerse other of the Kynges cunceyll; where the sayd John Mancell caufyd ye sayd rolle to be redde, before the comynalty of the cytie, and after shewyd to ye people that ye Kynges pleasure and mynde was, that they

* Note, by Mr. Thoms, to Stow's *Survey*, p. 63.

† Edited by Sir Henry Ellis, in 1811, pp. 339, 340.

shulde be rulyd with iustyce, and that the lybertyes of the cytie shuld be maynteyned in euery poynt: and if the Kynge myghte knowe those parsonys, that so hadde wrongyd the comynaltye of the cytie, they shulde be greououflye punyfished, to the exaumple of other." The King was Henry III.*

Paul's Croſs, it will be ſeen, had its political and ſecular uſes, as well as its religious. Here folk-motes were gathered together, Bulls and Papal edicts were read, heretics were denounced, heresies abjured, ex-communications published, great political changes made known to the people, penances performed.

It may be convenient to tell, in the firſt instance, what is known of the ſtructure itſelf, and then to ſpeak more fully of the various uſes to which it was applied. The precise period when a Pulpit Croſs was firſt erected at S. Paul's has not been ascertained. It was standing in 1241,† and, probably, existed long before. In 1382, "the one and twentieth day of May, was a great Earthquake in England at nine of the clocke, fearing the hearts of many."‡ It was moſt vehement in Kent, "where it funke ſome Churches, and threw them downe to the earth." On the 24th of May was a ſecond earthquake, "before the Sunne riſing, but not fo terrible as the firſt." About the Feaſt of S. Thomas Apoſtle, "great raynes and inondations of waters chanced, ſo that the water roſe foure times more in height then before." It was a

* See alſo Riley, *Chronicles of the Mayors*, etc., pp. 37, 38.

† See *infra*, p. 123.

‡ Stow, *Annales*.

very memorable year. "The earthquake happened at the very moment when a Council of the clergy was fitting in London to pronounce judgment upon Wyclif and his adherents." A very interesting allusion to the earthquake is found amongst the Political Songs and Poems relating to English History edited by Thomas Wright (in the Series of Chronicles published under the superintendence of the Master of the Rolls.*)

"For sothe this was a Lord to drede,
So fodeynly mad mon agast ;
Of gold and selver thei tok non hede,
But out of ther houses ful fone thei past.
Chaumbres, chymeneys, al to-barst,
Chirches and castelles foule gon fare ;
Pinacles, steples, to grounde hit cast ;
And al was for warnyng to be ware.

* * *

"The rysyng of the comuynes in londe,
The pestilens, and the eorthe-qwake,
Theose threo thinges, I understande,
Beoth tokenes the grete vengaunce and wrake
That schulde falle for synnes sake,
As this clerkes conne declare.
Now may we chefe to leve or take,
For warnyng have we to be ware."

Certainly these were very anxious days, and we cannot wonder if the poet saw signs of vengeance in the trembling earth and storm-rent sky. The days of Wyclif, of Sir John Ball, of the restless Commons, of John Tylar of Dartford, of the Blackheath rising, of the plunder of Lambeth Palace and of the Savoy, the breaking open of the Fleet Prison, the spoiling of the

* *Political Songs and Poems*, i. pp. lxiv. 251, 252.

Temple, the fires at Westminster, the breaking of the Prison at Newgate, the forcible entry into the Tower, the murder of Archbishop Sudbury, Wat Tyler's insurrection, Jack Straw's conspiracy—these* were stirring times.

Paul's Cross did not escape. Storm, tempest, and earthquake had done their work. It was "frail and injured," and ready to fall into utter ruin. The Bishops, however, bestirred themselves, and with Archbishop Courtenay at their head issued *Indulgences* to the faithful of their dioceses, granting to those who should contribute to the repair of Paul's Cross forty days' Indulgence. The following is a literal translation of the original document, still preserved in the Cathedral record-room :†

"To all the sons of our Holy Mother the Church under whose notice these present letters shall come, William, by Divine permission Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolic See, wishes eternal health in the Lord. We esteem it a service pleasant and acceptable to God whosoever, by the alluring gifts of Indulgences, we stir up the minds of the faithful to a greater readiness in contributing their gifts to such works as concern the honour of the Divine Name. Since, then, the High Cross in the greater Churchyard of the Church of London, (where the Word of God is habitually

* These are but a few of the events of the preceding year 1381.

† The translation follows, almost word for word, the original text. The object has been, not to produce an elegant version, but a close verbal rendering.

preached both to Clergy and Laity, being a place very public and well known,) by strong winds and tempests of the air and terrible earthquakes, hath become so frail and injured, that unless some means be quickly taken for its repair and restoration, it will fall utterly into ruin: therefore, by the mercy of the Almighty God, trusting in the merits and prayers of the most Blessed Virgin Mary His Mother, and of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and of all the Saints, We, by these presents, mercifully grant in the Lord to all the servants of Christ throughout our Province of Canterbury wheresoever living, truly repenting and confessing their sins, who, for the restoration and repair of the aforesaid Cross shall give, bequeath, or in any manner assign, of the goods committed to them gifts of charity, Forty Days of Indulgence. In testimony whereof we have to this present letter affixed our seal. Given at the Manor of Fulham, in the Diocese of London, on the 18th day of May, in the year of our Lord One thousand, three hundred, and eighty-seven, and in the sixth year of our translation."

The Bishops of London, Ely, Bath, Chester, Carlisle, Llandaff, and Bangor, lent their aid to circulate this document with their full approval, in their own dioceses. Doubtless other bishops followed their example. Unfortunately we do not know the proceeds of these *Indulgences*. It is certain, however, that Bishop Kempe, Bishop of London from 1450 to 1489, was able to rebuild the Cross, "as his arms, in sundry places of its leaded cover, doth manifest." So Dugdale,

writing in 1658, affirms.* Stow, also, speaks as an eye-witness, when he says that Bishop Kempe, "new built it in form as it now standeth."†

No drawing of the earliest Cross has been handed down. But if, as Stow and Dugdale intimate, the Cross standing in their day was the same as that which Bishop Kempe constructed, then we are able to produce a fairly correct representation of it, so far at least, as its general outline is concerned.

One Henry Farley, "a pious, disinterested, and zealous person," caused to be painted in the year 1616, a very remarkable picture. It was executed by one John Gipkyn. The picture, or series of pictures, is painted on two folding leaves of wood, forming a diptych.‡ Farley had for some eight years busily importuned the King, James I., for the reparation of S. Paul's Cathedral. His painting may be regarded as a prediction of that which actually came to pass about four years later, when, on Sunday, 26th March, 1620, King James I., with his Queen and Charles Prince of Wales, attended by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishops, Officers of State, and others, heard a Sermon at Paul's Cross, preached by Dr. John King, the "King of Preachers" as James used to call him. We will attempt a description of this picture, but we must premise that it utterly defies all the rules of perspective, and is utterly wanting in minute

* Dugdale, first edition, p. 125.

† Stow, *Survey*, p. 124.

‡ It is figured in Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*, vol. i. A reduced woodcut from the picture illustrates the present volume.

accuracy. When we mention that the Eastern Window of the Choir and the great North door of the North Transept are both presented, with admirable im-



PAUL'S CROSS.

partiality, to the spectator—and that the Choir has but four windows instead of twelve, whilst the Nave is curtailed of nearly all its length,—it will be perceived

that the precision which modern critics would require in an architectural view is absent here. Paul's Cross stands at a point equidistant from the N.E. angle of the Choir, and the N.E. angle of the North Transept. (This was not, in fact, its true position.) Immediately opposite to the spectator is a building in two stories : in the lower of which sits the Lord Mayor, accompanied by the Aldermen and by the Sword Bearer ; and in the upper story sits, in a sort of projecting box, the King, with the Queen on his right, and the Prince of Wales on his left. Ladies and gentlemen of the court, three Bishops, and other less distinctly indicated persons occupy the remainder of this gallery. On the right is the North Transept, and against it are built two long low houses obscuring the buttresses and the lower parts of the windows : four chimneys belonging to these houses are smoking freely. From these chimneys the following lines issue, addressed to the royal gallery :

“ Viewe, O Kinge ; howe my walles-creepers
Have made mee worke for chimney-sweepers.”

Above is seen the tower of the Cathedral. It had lost its spire in 1561. Pigeons are flying about, then as now.

The Cross itself is an octagon. It is entered from the back, and is large enough to contain the preacher and three attendants. An hour-glass stands at the preacher's right. The pulpit-cloth is embroidered with the royal arms. Access to the pulpit is obtained by a stair of some six steps, on the lowest of which, effectually to prevent intrusion, stands a verger with

his staff. The whole structure, which was of wood, is surrounded by a low dwarf wall, within which are sitting seven persons, two of them women, probably the choir. The building is surmounted by a slightly domed roof, crowned by a disproportionately large cross. Before the Cross sits on benches a numerous congregation of men, women, and children, nearly all wearing their hats, and some having open books spread out upon their knees. It is said that they paid a penny or a halfpenny a piece for the privilege of using these forms.* On the left a well-dressed youth bows and accosts a grave and reverend citizen with "I pray, Sir, what is the text?" who answers, "The 2nd of Chron. xxiv." On the right another citizen in his well-furred gown drops a coin into a large money-chest placed outside the Transept door. Two led horses, a dog-whipper flogging a dog, a horse-block of three steps, a lady and her cavalier, and a few figures scattered in the background, complete the picture.†

This is Paul's Cross. A lofty structure, probably of wood, upon a stone base, with a leaded roof bearing Bishop Kempe's arms, and surmounted with a cross.

Wilkinson gives also a second view of the Cross,‡ "From an original Drawing in the Pepysian Library, Cambridge." It must be frankly confessed that it is a little difficult to reconcile the two. Here are three octagonal steps, the dwarf wall surrounding the front

* Walcott's *Traditions and Customs*, p. 70.

† Many details are necessarily omitted in the woodcut.

‡ *Londina Illustrata*, p. 31.

of the pulpit, the structure itself, and its domed roof and crofs ; but the architectural beauties faintly indicated in Henry Farley's picture are wanting here.

The Cross was the scene of a great number of events intimately connected with the history of the country.

In 1241 "his Lordship the King asked leave of the citizens of London, at Saint Paul's Crofs, that he might pass over into Gascoigne to aid the Count de la Marche against the King of France, and soon after crossed over."*

In 1252, the King "gave orders that all persons in the City should meet together on the Sunday following at Saint Paul's Crofs, in presence of those whom he should send thither, and there make oath of fealty to Sir Edward, his son, and to his Queen, to whose charge he was about to commit his Kingdom. Afterwards, this matter was postponed until the Tuesday in Pentecost, on which day the whole Commons of the City did fealty at the Crofs aforesaid to Sir Edward, and in his presence saving their fealty to his lordship the King."†

In 1259, "on the day before the feast of S. Leonard [November 6], his Lordship the King came to the Cross of S. Paul's, a countless multitude of the City being there assembled in folkmote, and took leave of the people to cross over, just as he had done before at Westminster ; and promised them that he would preserve all their liberties unimpaired. Upon the morrow

* Riley, *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs*, p. 9.

† *Ibid.*, p. 20.

of the feast of S. Leonard, his Lordship the King took his departure from London for the sea-coast. On the feast of S. Brice [November 13], which at that time fell on a Friday, his Lordship the King crossed over.”*

In 1260, “on the Sunday before the Feast of S. Valentine,” the King caused the Folkmote to be summoned at S. Paul’s Crofs; “whither he himself came, the King of Almaine, the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Maunsell, and many others. The King also commanded that all persons of the age of twelve years and upwards should make oath before their Aldermen in every ward that they would be faithful unto him, so long as he should live, and after his death to his heir, which was accordingly done. Then all the gates of the City were shut, night and day, by the King’s command, the Bridge Gate and the Gates of Ludgate and Aldgate excepted, which were open by day, and well-fortified with armed men.”†

Such incidents occurred frequently, and it would be easy to multiply references. But our next citation shall refer to a more religious use of the Crofs.

In October, 1261, the King and his Queen were sojourning at S. Paul’s, probably in the Palace of the Bishop, Henry de Wengham, who was in great favour with Henry III. In this year, in Lent, “the King caused to be read at S. Paul’s Cross a certain Bull of Pope Urban,‡ who had been made Pope the same year, which confirmed the Bull of Pope Alexander,§ his predecessor, who had previously absolved the King

* Riley, *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs*, pp. 45, 46.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 49. ‡ Urban IV. § Alexander IV.

and all the others of the oath which they had made in the Parliament at Oxford.”*

A little later, March 17, 1264, the Mayor and Aldermen of London did fealty to the King in S. Paul’s Cathedral. “Then,” says the Chronicler, “those who were present might see a thing wondrous and unheard of in this age; for this most wretched Mayor [Thomas Fitz Thomas], when taking the oath, dared to utter words so rash as these, saying unto his lordship the King in presence of the people, ‘My lord, so long as unto us you will be a good lord and King, we will be faithful and duteous unto you.’”†

In 1266, on the Monday following June 25, the Legate Ottoboni (he was Cardinal of S. Adrian, and Pope for about five weeks as Adrian V. in 1276 ‡) laid a general interdict upon the City, for harbouring the Earl of Gloucester. The interdict was speedily removed. On the Vigil of S. John Baptist in the same year, Sir Alan la Suché, or Zouche, “was made Constable and Warden of the City by his lordship the King, in the presence of all the people at Saint Paul’s Cross.”§ The following year, about the Feast of S. Mark, 1267, Ottoboni held a great Council in S. Paul’s, at which were present, in person or by their proctors, the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots and Priors, Deans, Provosts, and Archdeacons of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales.

* Riley, *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs*, pp. 52, 53.

† *Ibid.*, p. 77, marginal note.

‡ He died 18th August, 1276. *Dictionnaire des Papes*.

§ Riley, *Chronicles*, pp. 97-106, 107.

In 1269, on May 13, nine Bishops, arrayed in their pontificals, came to the Crofs, and caused to be read “a certain Bull of Pope Innocent, confirmatory of the Charters of the Liberties of England and of the Forest, which the King had executed unto the Barons of England in the 9th year of his reign ; and caused to be read openly and distinctly before all the people, the sentence which, in the year of our Lord 1253, had been pronounced in the Greater Hall at Westminster, before the King and many Nobles of England, by thirteen Bishops arrayed in pontificals, against all transgressors of the said Charters.” The Bishops then proceeded to excommunicate all persons who had done anything in contravention of the aforesaid Charters, and all those who had laid violent hands upon the Clergy or plundered them. The parish priests of the City published this sentence in every parish church.*

In 1271, in the time of the tumults in the City in reference to the election of Walter Hervey as Mayor, a Folkmote was called together at the Crofs, and it was decided that he should be Mayor for that year “to whose election the greater part of the citizens should agree.”†

In 1311, 5 Edward II., the King held his Parliament at the Friars Preachers, or Black Friars, in the City of London. The Parliament lasted fifteen days and the Statutes ordained during its session were proclaimed at the Crofs, on the Tuesday next after

* Riley, *Chronicles*, p. 128.

+ *Ibid.*, pp. 158, 159.

S. Michael, in the presence of the Earl of Gloucester, the Chancellor, the Treasurer, and other lords of the King's Council.*

In 1378 the Bishop of London publicly excommunicated at Paul's Cross the murderers of one Robert Hawle. The story is sufficiently tragical, and can hardly be so well told as in the words of Dean Stanley.† "During the campaign of the Black Prince in the North of Spain, two of his knights, Shackle and Hawle, had taken prisoner a Spanish Count. He returned home for his ransom, leaving his son in his place. The ransom never came, and the young Count continued in captivity. He had, however, a powerful friend at Court, John of Gaunt, who, in right of his wife, claimed the crown of Castile, and in virtue of this Spanish royalty demanded the liberty of the young Spaniard. The English captors refused to part with so valuable a prize. John of Gaunt, with a high hand, imprisoned them in the Tower, whence they escaped and took sanctuary at Westminster. They were pursued by Alan Boxhall, Constable of the Tower, and Sir Ralph Ferrers, with fifty armed men. It was a day long remembered in the Abbey—the 11th of August, the festival of S. Taurinus. The two knights, probably for greater security, had fled not merely into the Abbey, but into the Choir itself. It was the moment of the celebration of High Mass. The Deacon had

* Riley, *Chronicles*, pp. 224, 225.

† *Westminster Abbey*, third edition, pp. 407-409. See also a graphic account in Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, i. pp. 375-378.

just reached the words of the Gospel of the day, 'If the goodman of the house had known what time the thief would appear,' when the clash of arms was heard, and the pursuers, regardless of time or place, burst in upon the service. Shackle escaped, but Hawle was intercepted. Twice he fled round the Choir, with his enemies hacking at him as he ran, and pierced with twelve wounds, he sank dead in front of the Prior's Stall, that is, at the north side of the entrance of the Choir. His servant and one of the monks fell with him. He was regarded as a martyr to the injured rights of the Abbey, and obtained the honour (at that time unusual) of burial within its walls—the first who was laid, so far as we know, in the South Transept; to be followed a few years later by Chaucer, who was interred at his feet. . . . The Abbey was shut up for four months, and Parliament was suspended, lest its assembly should be polluted by sitting within the defecrated precincts." The Archbishops and Bishops excommunicated the two chief assailants, and the excommunication was repeated every Wednesday and Friday by the Bishop of London at S. Paul's. No doubt there were grave reasons for such denunciations. If the ancient right of sanctuary of the Abbey had thus been violated, the rude hands of violent and wicked men might soon profane the shrine of the sainted Erkenwald himself.

In 1483 the unhappy Jane Shore was accused by the Lord Protector of going about to bewitch him, and "that she was of councell with the Lord Chamberlaine to destroy him." She was spoiled of all her

goods and cast into prison. But Stow* may be left to tell us the rest of the sad story. The Protector “(as a good continent Prince, cleane and faultlesse of himselfe, sent out of heaven into the vicious world for the amendment of men’s manners) hee caused the Bishop of London to put her to open penance, going before the Crosse in procession upon a Sunday with a taper in her hand. In which she went, in countenance and pace demure, so womanly ; and albeit she were out of all aray faue her Kirtle onely, yet went she so faire and louely, namely while the wondering of the people cast a comely red in her cheekes (of which shée before had most misse) that her great shame wanne her much praise, among those that were more amorous of her body then curious of her soule. And many good folke also that hated her liuing, and were glad to see finne corrected : yet pittied they more her penance then reioyced therein, when they considered that the Protector procured it more of a corrupt intent then any vertuous affection.” She was brought from the Bishop’s Palace, clothed in a white sheet, with a Croſs carried before her, and a wax taper in her hand.†

Submissive, fad, and lowly was her look.
A burning taper in her hand she bore,
And on her shoulders, careleſſly confus’d,
With loose negleſt, her lovely tresses hung.
Upon her cheek a faintiſh flush was ſpread,
Feeble ſhe feem’d, and forely ſmit with pain,
While barefoot as ſhe trod the flinty pavement,

* Stow, *Annales*, p. 449. Sir Thomas More (*Life of Edward V.*), Holinshed, and Stow give the same account.

† Moor, in Rapin’s *History*, i. p. 635, n., edit. 1732.

Her footsteps all along were mark'd with blood.
Yet silent still she pass'd, and unrepining,
Her streaming eyes bent ever on the earth,
Except when, in some bitter pang of sorrow,
To Heaven she seem'd in fervent zeal to raise,
And beg that mercy man denied her here.*

In the same year, on Sunday, June the 19th, 1483, Dr. Ralph Shaw, the brother of the then Lord Mayor, preached his famous sermon at the Cross. The young King, Edward V., had been brought to London and lodged in the Bishop's Palace near S. Paul's from the 4th to the 19th of May. "The first Sunday in May, the anniversary of that Palm Sunday which had established his father on the throne, had been originally fixed by the Council in London for his coronation,"† but the solemnity had been deferred. The King was removed to the Tower, and June 22nd was named as the coronation day. The Duke of Gloucester had gathered together in London some twenty thousand armed men. He had held secret conference with Dr. Shaw, "to whom he utteryd, that his father's inheritance ought to descend to him by right, as the eldest of all the sonnes which Richard his father, Duke of York, had begotten of Cecyly his wyfe." And he did not hesitate to declare "that Edward who had before raignyd, was a bastard, that ys, not begotten of a right and lawfull wyfe."‡ Such statements he urgently

* Nicholas Rowe, *Jane Shore, a Tragedy.*

† *Grants of Edward V.* (Camden Society). Introduction by J. Gough Nichols, pp. vii., viii.

‡ Polydore Vergil (Camden Society), xxix. pp. 183-5.

desired that Dr. Shaw would make to the people at the Crofs. On the day appointed, Duke Richard "came in royal maner, with a great gard of men armyd unto the churche of S. Paule, and ther was attentyvely present at the sermon." The preacher did not do his work by halves. He declared that the late King "was nether in physnomy nor shape of body lyke unto Richard the father; for he was high of stature, thother very little, he of large face, thother short and rownd." Presently, as if by chance, the Protector showed himself from a gallery; "the place where the doctors commonly stand in the upper story, where hee stood to hearken the sermon":* and the preacher indicating him to the people, pointed out to them the clear resemblance between the Duke of Gloucester and his father. The text had been sufficiently suggestive: "The multiplying brood of the ungodly shall not thrive, nor take deep rooting from bastard slips, nor lay any fast foundation."† The people, however, had no sympathy with the preacher. He had hoped that when he pointed out the Duke to their notice, they would have cried, "Long live King Richard!" but they continued silent. You might have seen some, says Polydore Vergil, "astonied with the noveltie and strangenes of the thing stand as mad men in a maze; others, all agast with thowtrageous crueltie of thorrible fact, to be in great feare of themselves because the war frindes to the Kinges children; others, fynally, to bewayle the miffortune of

* Stow, *Annales*, p. 454.

† *Wisdom*, iv. 3.

the chyldren, whom they adjudgyd now utterly undone." The disgraceful fact that Richard allowed his own mother to be openly slandered and defamed, he himself hearing the preacher's words without rebuke, was intolerable to all good men. And Polydore Vergil goes on to say that "Raphe Sha, the publisher of thabhomynablenes of so weightie a cause (who, not long after, acknowledgyd his error, throwgh the grevous rebukes of his fryndes that wer ashamyd of his infamy) so sore repentyd the doing thereof that, dying shortly for very sorow, he suffered worthie punishment for his lewdnes."

On Sunday, the 24th of February, 1538, "the Rood of Boxely in Kent, called the Rood of Grace, made with divers vices to mooue the eyes and lips, was shewed at Pauls Crosse by the preacher, which was the Bishop of Rochester, and there it was broken and plucked to pieces."* The famous image of Our Lady of Walsingham, an object of pilgrimage of the highest repute; and the image of Our Lady of Ipswich, were brought to London with all the jewels that hung about them, and divers other images both in England and Wales to which pilgrims had resortd. They were all burnt at Chelsea.† It will be remembered that in one of Erasmus' most interesting *Dialogues* an account is given of a visit paid to the famous shrine at Walsingham.

Fox is seldom more in earnest than when he is denouncing some idolatrous superstition, and he has,

* Stow, *Annales*, p. 575.

† *Ibid.*, p. 575.

accordingly, something to say about this Rood of Boxley. The details, if true, are sad enough, as the records of what are called 'religious' frauds always must be.

"What posteritie will ever thinke the churche of the pope, pretending such religion, to have beene so wicked; so long to abuse the people's eyes with an olde rotten stocke, called the Roode of Grace, wherein a man should stand inclosed, with an hundredth wyers within the Roode, to make the image goggle with the eies, to nod with his head, to hang the lip, to moove and shake his jawes, according as the valew was of the gift which was offered? If it were a small piece of silver, he would hang a frowning lip; if it were a piece of golde, then should his jawes go merily. Thus miserably was the people of Christ abused, their soules seduced, their senses beguiled, and their purses spoyled, till this idolatrous forgerie at last, by Cromwel's meanes, was disclosed, and the image, with all his engines, showed openly at Paules Crosse, and there torne in pieces by the people. The like was done by the blood of Hayles, which in like maner by Cromwell was brought to Paules Crosse, and there proved to be the blood of a ducke. Who would have judged but that the mayd of Kent had beene an holy woman and a prophetesse inspired, had not Cromwell and Cranmer tried her at Paules Crosse, to be a strong and lewd impostor. What should I speak of Darvel Gatheren,*

* The image called Darvell Gatheren was brought from Wales to London in May, 1538, and burned in Smithfield: at the same time Friar Forrest was burned.

of the rood of Chester, of Thomas Becket, of Our Lady of Walsingham, with an infinite multitude more of the like affinitie? All which stockes and blockes of cursed idolatrie, Cromwell, stirred up by the providence of God, remooved them out of the people's way, that they might walke more safely in the sincere service of Almighty God.”*

Fox tells a story of the Rood of Dover Court, which may well be inserted here, although the Rood was not brought to London. One Thomas Rose, a preacher in that district, had preached so warmly against idolatry in general and this Rood in particular that some of his audience determined to destroy it. The people of Dover Court believed that the power of the image was so great that no man could shut the door of the Church in which it stood. The iconoclasts finding the door open, took the image from its shrine, and carried it a quarter of a mile, “without any resistance of the said idol. Whereupon they strake fire with a flint-stone, and suddenly set him on fire: who burned out so brim, that he lighted them homeward one good

For further details about the Rood of Grace, see Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, edition 1576, pp. 182-185.

Hayles Abbey was in Gloucestershire. The relic of the Holy Blood was presented to the Abbey by Edmund Earl of Cornwall. The Commissioners appointed at the Dissolution of Monasteries said that the blood was clarified honey, “which, being in a glasse, appeared to be of a glistering redde, resemblyng partly the color of blod.”—Fox, iv. p. 824.

* Fox, v. p. 397. Compare the form in which this matter appears in Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, ii. pp. 281-4, where are some very full and instructive notes.

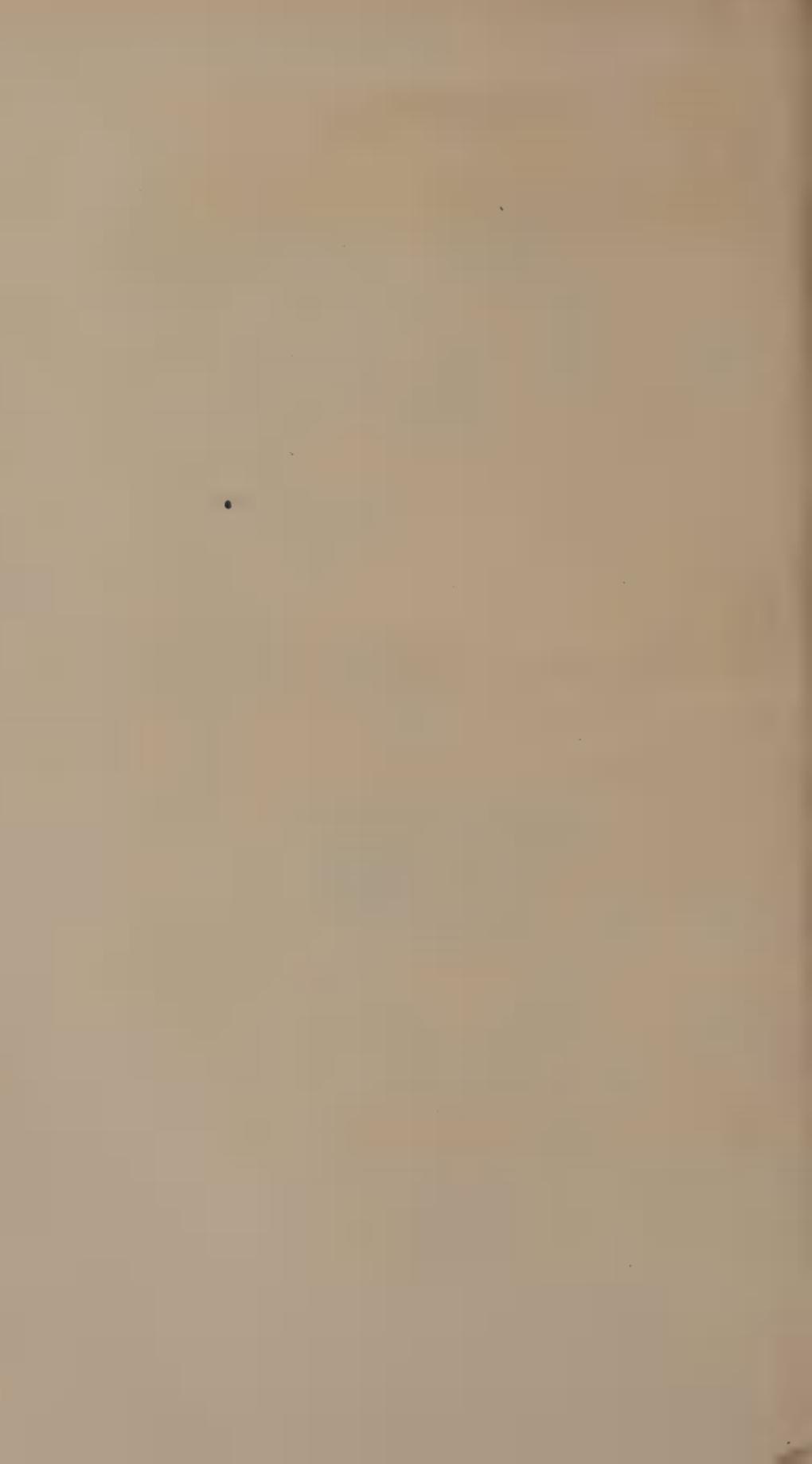
mile.* This was in 1532. The enterprife cost three of Mr. Rose's disciples their lives : they suffered and were hanged in chains. "The said Thomas Rose had the coat of the said Rood brought unto him afterward ; who burnt it. The Rood was said to have done many great miracles, and great wonders wrought by him, and yet being in the fire could not help himself, but burned like a block, as in very deed he was."†

* Fox, iv. pp. 706, 707.

† *Ibid.*, viii. p. 581.



LATIMER AT PAUL'S CROSS.





CHAPTER X.

LATIMER AT PAUL'S CROSS.

LUGH LATIMER, the famous Bishop of Worcester, was a frequent preacher at the Cross. He was released from his imprisonment in the Tower at the accession of Edward VI.; and on the 1st of January, 1548, his voice was heard at Paul's Cross. It was "the first sermon by him preached in almost eight yeeres before, for at the making of the Sixe Articles, he being Bishop of Worcester, would not consent vnto them, and therfore was commanded to silence, and gaue vp his bishoprike."* It would be interesting to know what were the first words which flowed from his lips after this long silence. He preached again at the Crofs on the 8th, 15th, and 29th of the same month. He affirmed, in the first of these sermons, "that whatsoeuer the cleargie commanded ought to be obeyed, but he also declared that the cleargie are such as fit in

* Stow, *Annales*, p. 1002, edit. 1603.

Moyses chaire, and breake not their master's commission, adding nothing thereto, nor taking any thing there from ; and such a cleargie must be obeied of all men, both high and lowe."* On the seventh of March, a pulpit was "set vp in the King's priuie garden at Westminster, and therein doctor Latimer preached before the King, where he mought be heard of more then foure times so manie people as could have stood in the King's chappell : and this was the first sermon preached there."† In January, 1549, he preached at S. Paul's three Sermons on *The Plough*, not now extant : and on the 18th of the month he delivered at the same place the famous Sermon on *The Ploughers*, in continuation of the former series. In Lent of the same year he preached at Whitehall his Friday Sermons before Edward VI., then only eleven years of age. The Sermon on *The Ploughers* has been lately very carefully reprinted by Mr. Edward Arber,‡ with a brief but pithy Introduction. Let us listen to a few sentences.

Latimer comes from Lambeth Palace, he is residing there with Cranmer as the guest of the Archbishop. Great crowds are assembled to hear the famous preacher. He had always been popular, for he had spoken from heart to heart. Whilst a Roman Catholic, and the Cross-Bearer of the University of Cambridge, he had declaimed earnestly against the new teaching : now, he vigorously defended it. Eleven years before,

* Stow, *Annales*, p. 1002, edit. 1603.

† *Ibid.*

‡ From whose Introduction the two previous citations and much of the following matter have been taken.

March 10th, 1538, he had preached at the Cross, and had spoken out right boldly. Though himself a Bishop, he had said that the clergy were strong thieves: and had added that there was not enough hemp grown in the kingdom to hang all the thieves in England. In another Sermon,* he gave some curious autobiographical details. "In my tyme," said he, "my poore father was as diligent to teach me to shote as to learne anye other thyng, and so I thynke other menne dyd theyr children. He taught me how to drawe, how to laye my bodye in my bowe, and not to drawe wyth strength of armes as other nacions do, but with strength of the bodye. I had bowes boughte me accordyng to my age and strength; as I encreased in them, so my bowes were made bigger and bigger, for men shal neuer shot well, excepte they be broughte vp in it. It is a goodly art, a holsome kind of exercise, and much commended in phisike."

To-day, we may be sure, this archer will not draw his bow at a venture. He comes, "a sore brused man," as his Swiss servant and faithful friend, Augustine Bernher writes. He is about fifty-six years of age.† Winter and summer, "about two of the clocke in the morning," he is at his book most diligently. He preaches twice every Sunday, for the most part, "to the great shame, confusion, and damnation of a great number of our fatbellied vnpreachyng prelates," says Bernher, who had learned his master's habit of plain speaking. It is winter time, Friday, 18th January,

* Sixth Sermon before Edward VI., 12th April, 1549.

† He was born about 1491. See Mr. Arber's *Introduction*.

1549 : he is to preach at Paul's Cross Sermon, but the weather is so cold that, for the sake of the congregation, the Sermon will be preached under the shelter of the "Shrouds."* We will enter, and standing under the arches of the crypt, we will lean against this massive pillar, and listen to the outspoken preacher.

His text is this : " Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning."† He recapitulates, very briefly, what he had said in previous sermons as to the seed which ought to be sown in God's field, in God's plough-land : that is to say, what doctrine should be taught in the Christian Church. To-day, his subject is to be not the seed, nor the plough, but the ploughers, that is, the preachers. Some persons had objected to his homely similitudes. They had said, " Oh Latimer, nay as for hym, I wil neuer beleue hym whyle I lyue, nor neuer truste hym, for he lykened our blessed Ladye to a saffrone bagge." In truth, he had never used that similitude : but if he had, there was a sense in which it was not untrue. Christ had compared the Gospel to a mustard seed and to leaven, and had said that He Himself will come like a thief.

But to his subject. A Plougher has always some work to do. " In my countrey in Lecestre Shire, the ploughe man hath a tyme to set furth and to affaie hys plough, and other tymes for other necessari workes to be done." The preacher, too, must never be idle amongst his people : " nowe castynge them downe with the lawe and with threateninges of God for

* That is, in the crypt of the Cathedral. See *Statutes*, p. 435.

† *Romans xv. 4.*

synne; nowe ridgyng them vp agayne with the gospel and with the promises of God's faouore. Nowe weedinge them, by tellinge them their faultes, and makynge them forfaste synne. Nowe clottinge them, by breakynge their stonie hertes, and by making them supple herted, and makynge them to haue hertes of fleshe, that is soft hertes, and apte for doctrine to enter in." The preacher must labour diligently. The preaching of the Word is likened to meat: "not strauberries, that come but once a yeare and tary not longe, but are sone gone... Many make a strauberie of it, ministringe it but once a yeare, but such do not thoffice of good prelates."

Alas! there were manye such. "Howe manye such prelates, how manye such byshops, Lorde for Thy mercie, are there nowe in England."

The lay hearers are delighted with this plain speaking: but listen, their turn is come. "Nowe what shall we saye of these ryche citizens of London? What shall I saye of them? Shal I cal them proude men of London, malicious men of London, mercyless men of London? No, no, I may not saie so, they wil be offended wyth me than. Yet must I speake. For is there not reygning in London, as much pride, as much couetousnes, as much crueltie, as much oppriision, as much supersticion, as was in Nebo? Yes, I thynke, and muche more to. Therfore I saye, repente, O London. Repent, repente." They could not endure to be told of their faults. "What a do was there made in London at a certein man because he sayd, and in dede at that time on a

iust cause, ‘Burgesses,’ quod he, ‘nay, Butterflies.’ Lorde, what a do there was for yat worde. And yet would God they were no worse than butterflies. Butterflyes do but theyre nature, the butterflye is not couetouse, is not gredye of other mens goodes, is not ful of enuy and hatered, is not malicious, is not cruel, is not mercilesse.”

"London can not abyde to be rebuked, fuche is the nature of man. If they be prycked, they wyll kycke. . . . London was neuer so yll as it is now. In tymes past men were full of pytie and compassion, but nowe there is no pitie, for in London their brother shall die in the streetes for colde, he shall lye sycke at theyr doore betwene stocke and stocke. . . . In tymes paste when any ryche man dyed in London, they were wonte to healp the pore scholers of the Vniuersity wyth exhibition. When any man dyed, they woulde bequeth greate summes of money towarde the releue of the pore. When I was a scholer in Cambrydge my selfe, I harde verye good reporte of London, and knewe manie that had releue of the rytche men of London, but nowe I can heare no such good reporte, and yet I inquyre of it, and herken for it, but nowe charitie is waxed colde, none helpeth the scholer nor yet the pore." The plougher in such foil will have hard work. "Thys land is not for me to plougue, it is to stonye, to thorni, to harde for me to plough. . . . What shall I loke for amone thornes but prickynge and scrachinge? What among stones but stumblyng? What (I had almost fayed) among serpenttes but stinging?"

The Laity have had sharp measure meted out to them, and now the Clergy shall have their turn again. "Euer fence the Prelates were made Loordes and nobles, the plouge standeth, there is no worke done, the people sterue. Thei hauke, thei hunt, thei card, they dyce, they pastyme in theyr prelacies with galaunte gentlemen, with theyr daunsinge minyons, and with theyr freshe companions, so that ploughinge is set a fyde. And by the lordinge and loytryng, preachynge and ploughinge is cleane gone." This is strong language from a Bishop, but there is more to come. These unpreaching Prelates are his abhorrence. "They are so troubeled wyth Lordelye lyuynge, they be so placed in palacies, couched in courtes, ruffelynge in theyr rentes, daunceynge in theyr dominions, burdened with ambassages, pamperynge of theyr panches lyke a monke that maketh his Jubilie, mounchynge in their maungers, and moylynge in their gaye manoures and mansions, and so troubeled wyth loyteryng in theyr Lordestyppes, that they canne not attende it. They are otherwyse occupied, somme in the Kynges matters, some are ambassadoures, some of the pryuie counsell, some to furnyshe the courte, some are Lordes of the Parliamente, some are presidentes, and some comptroleres of myntes. Well, well, is thys theyr duetye? . . . I would fayne knowe who comptrolleth the deuyll at home at his parishe, whyle he comptrolleth the mynte? If the Apostles mighte not leaue the office of preaching to be deacons, shall one leaue it for myntyng? I can not tell you, but the sayinge is, that since priests haue

bene minters, money hath bene wourse then it was before. And they faye that the euylnes of money hath made all thinges dearer.* And in thys behalfe I must speake to England. . . . Paule was no fittyng
bishoppe, but a walkinge and a preachynge byshop."

No clasf escapes his sharp satire. "The onely cause, why noble men be not made Lord presidentes, is because they haue not bene brought vp in learninge. Therefore for the loue of God, appoynte teachers and scholemaisters, you that haue charge of youth, and giue the teachers stipendes worthy their paynes, that they maye brynge them vp in grammer, in Logike, in rethorike, in Philosophe, in the ciuile lawe, and in that whiche I can not leaue vnspoken of, the Word of God." Then noblemen could take high offices of state, and Bishops might become purely spiritual persons, and diligent preachers. "And nowe I would aske a straung question. Who is the most diligent bishoppe and prelate in al England, that passeth al the reste in doinge his office? I can tel, for I knowe him, who it is I knowe hym well. But nowe I thynke I se you lyfting and hearkening, that I shoulde name him. There is one that passeth al the other, and is the most diligent prelate and preacher in al England. And wyl ye knowe who it is? I wyl tel you. It is the Deuyl. He is the mooste dyligent preacher of al other, he is neuer out of his dioces, he is neuer from his cure, ye shal neuer fynde hym vnoccupyed, he is euer in

* Such charges were frequently brought against the authorities of the Mint, whether clerical or lay. See Strype's Stow, i. pp. 101-109.

his parishe, he keepeth residence at al tymes, ye shal neuer fynde hym out of the waye, cal for him when you wyl, he is euer at home, the diligenteste preacher in all the Realme, he is euer at his plouge . . . Where the Deuyl is residente and hath his plough goinge, there awaye with bokes and vp with candelles, awaye wyth Bibles and vp with beades, awaye with the lyghte of the Gospel and vp with the lyghte of candlees, yea at noondayes . . . Downe with Christes crosse, vp with purgatory picke purse, vp with hym, the popish pourgatorie, I mean . . . He goeth on visitacion daylye. He leaueth no place of hys cure vnuisited. There was neuer shuch a preacher in England as he is."

Then follows a long attack upon the doctrine of the Mass: concluding with a vigorous onslaught upon the Pope himself. "The Deuyl by the healpe of that Italian Bishop yonder, his chaplayne, hath labored by al meanes that he myghte, to frustrate the death of Christe and the merites of His passion. And they haue deuised for that purpose to make vs beleue in other vayne thynges by his pardons, as to haue remission of sinnes for praiyng on hallowed beades, for drynkyng of the bake-house bole, as a channon of Waltam Abbey once tolde me, that when soeuer they putte theyr loues of breade into the ouen, as manie as drancke of the pardon boll should haue pardon for drynckynge of it. A madde thynge to geue pardon to a bolle. Then to Pope Alexanders holie water, to hallowed belles, palmes, candelles, affshes, and what not? . . . Yea, and Alexanders holie water yet at

thys day remayneth in Englande, and is vsed for a remedye against spirites, and to chase awaye deuylls."

This leads the preacher on to speak of images and of the worship offered to them. They are to be destroyed even as Hezekiah destroyed the brazen serpent.

The peroration is now near at hand. The lordly Prelates are again rebuked. "The Deuill is diligente at his plough. He is no vnpreachynge prelate. He is no Lordelie loyterer from his cure, but a busie plougheman, so that amonge all the prelates, and amonge al the packe of them that haue cure the Deuil shall go for my money. For he styl applyeth his busynes. Therfore ye vnpreachynge prelates, learne of the deuill to be diligent in doing of your office. Learne of the deuill. And if you wyl not learne of God nor good man, for shame learne of the deuill. *Ad erubescientiam vestram dico.** I speake it for your shame. If you wyll not learne of God nor good man to be diligent in your office, learne of the deuill. Howe be it there is nowe verie good hooke that the Kynges maiestie beinge by the healpe of good gouernaunce of his mooste honourable counsaylours, he is trayned and broughte vp in learnynge and knowledge of Goddes word, wil shortly prouide a remedye and set an ordre here in, which thyng that it may so be, lette vs praye for hym. Praye for hym, good people, praye for hym; ye haue great cause and neede to praye for hym."

And so the preacher ends, and his congregation

* "I speak to your shame" (*1 Cor. vi. 5*).

disperse, saying, "We have heard strange things to-day."*

Who does not understand the prodigious power of this rude, uncultivated eloquence? Coarse, very often, and to our modern tastes, profane, there was a force and a directness in it, which carried home the preacher's lessons. Latimer was essentially a preacher to the people. His language was their language, the plain mother tongue. He spoke of that which was uppermost in their thoughts, and lashed, with unsparing hand, the follies, the abuses, the sins, the corruptions of the day. But he was laying up in store for himself retributions; the day was coming when the "lordly prelates" would have the pre-eminence, and his violent words would be remembered. Those who know only the bitter phrases of the Roman Prelates as they find them plentifully recorded in the *Acts and Monuments* of John Fox, should certainly, in common fairness, read the equally strong language of the reforming Bishops. If Bishop Bonner is to be selected as the representative of the one, Bishop Bale is to be taken as the representative of the other. In truth, the atrocious coarseness of the latter renders many of his utterances incapable of reproduction in the nineteenth century. In these troubled days of fierce debate men on both sides used the weapon which first came to hand, regardless whether it were a sword,

* The edition used in the text has been Mr. Arber's reprint of that "Imprinted at London, by Jhon Daye, dwellinge at Alder-gate, and William Seres, dwellinge in Peter Colledge."

a battle-axe, a bible, a spear, or a bucket of dirty water.

When Latimer was at the climax of denunciation, his words were certainly not measured. It must be remembered, however, that there was much to stir up his just wrath. Let us take one or two examples.

He denounces the holy water of Pope Alexander. In the Breviary, on May 3, the day of the Invention of the Holy Cross, in the ninth lection for the day we read, that "Alexander was a Roman who ruled the Church during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian. . . . He ordained that blessed water mingled with salt, should be kept always in churches, and should be used in private houses to scare away devils." The Breviary itself may be quoted as an authority on the fact.

He denounces the Pardon-bowl at Waltham. He might readily have found other examples. At Bury S. Edmunds, in the monastery there, was a "holye relique which was called the *pardon-boule*; whosoever dronk of this boule in the worshippe of God and Saynt Edmund, he had fие hundred dayes of pardon, *toties quoties..*"* Bishop Bale, in his *Image of both Churches*, enumerates several other "pardon masers or drinking dishes, as S. Benet's bowl, S. Edmond's bowl, S. Giles' bowl, S. Blyth's bowl, and Westminster bowl."† To these Calfhill adds S. Leonard's bowl.‡

A collection of some of the chief Indulgences in

* Becon's Works, iii. fol. 187, quoted in Corrie's edition of Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 75.

† Parker Soc. edition, p. 526.

‡ Calfhill, answer to Martiall, p. 287.

the Sarum *Book of Hours* will be found in Bishop Burnet's *History of the Reformation*:* these will show how deeply engrained into the popular thought the whole system of indulgences and pardons had become.

The wonder-working images and pictures excited Latimer's vehement animadversions. The Cathedral itself had its share of shrines, and images, and pictures. The melancholy exposures of "roods with rolling eyes and sweating brows, with speaking mouth and walking feet"† were only too fresh in the minds of the people. It was time to speak out; and no one can say that Latimer was not outspoken. In such stirring times much must be pardoned to earnest true-hearted men.

* Bishop Burnet, *Records*, Book i. sect. 26. Edition 1841, iv.
p. 280.

† Calfhill, p. 274.



THOMAS LEVER AT PAUL'S CROSS.



CHAPTER XI.

THOMAS LEVER AT PAUL'S CROSS.



HOMAS LEVER may very well be taken as a typical example of another great preacher of the reign of Edward VI. In this case also we are indebted to Mr. Edward Arber for a careful reprint of three sermons, the first preached in the Shrouds of S. Paul's on Septuagesima Sunday, 2nd February, 1550; the second preached before the King at Court on Mid-Lent Sunday; and the third preached at Paul's Cross on the second Sunday in Advent in the same year.*

Thomas Lever was successively Fellow, Preacher, and Master of S. John's College, Cambridge; he was Pastor in exile of the English Church at Aaran; Prebendary of Durham Cathedral, and Master of Sherborne Hospital. Strype says,† that on June 24,

* Mr. Arber's brief notes on the Life and Writings of Thomas Lever have been freely used in the following notice.

† *Eccles. Mem.*, edit. 1822, vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 402-3.

1550, Bishop Ridley ordained twenty-five deacons before the high Altar of S. Paul's, and that amongst them were Thomas Lever, and John Fox the Martyrologist; and he adds that, on August 10, Bishop Ridley held an ordination at Fulham, when his chaplain, John Bradford, was ordained deacon, and Thomas Lever received priest's orders. It is difficult to reconcile these dates with the fact of his preaching at S. Paul's on February 2, 1550. During the reign of Queen Mary we find him, with other exiles, at Zurich, at Geneva. Upon the accession of Elizabeth, he marries, he returns to England, he is a more eager Protestant than ever. He died at Ware whilst journeying back to his Hospital, and was buried at Sherborne, "under a blue marble stone, whereon is cut a cross flory with a bible and chalice, and on a brass plate,"

THOMAS LEAVER PREACHER
TO KING EDWARD THE SIXTE
HE DIED IN IVLY 1577.

The first of these three sermons is an urgent exhortation to the religious performance of civil duties. The Preachers of the Reformation period were bold speakers, manful pleaders of the cause of the poor, denouncing corruption even in the highest places. It must be remembered that there were no newspapers in those days. At Paul's Cross the laity often learned, for the first time, what events were being transacted, far and near. England was recovering from the long anarchy of the Wars of the Roses, but whilst the rich

had become richer, the poor had become poorer. Wool, the great staple of the country, had risen so greatly in price, "that poore folkes, which were wonte to worke it and make cloth therof, be nowe hable to bye none at all," says Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia*.* England had its "land question," and the enclosure of lands was one of the great causes of Kett's rebellion. The Impropriation of Ecclesiastical Benefices was another "burning question": corporations, non-resident clergy, and even laymen held rich benefices, delegating the spiritual duties to a half-starved curate, whilst the temporal duties, hospitality and the like, were practically left undone. "Is it nat great pitye to se a man to haue thre or foure benefyces: yea, paraduenture, halfe a score or a dosyn, whiche he neuer cometh at," asks Sir Francis Bygod, who joined the *Pilgrimage of Grace*, and was hanged at Tyburn in June, 1537.† He proceeds: "whiche [benefices] he neuer cometh at, but setteth in euery one of them a Syr Iohn lacke laten that can scarce rede his porteūs,‡ oreis fuche a rauenynge wolfe as canne do nothyng but deuoure the sely shepe with his false doctryne, and sucke their substaunce from them. . . . I haue knownen fuche that whan they hauen rydden by a benefyce whereof they haue ben persone they coulde natte tell that it was their benefyce. This is a wonderfull blyndnesse."

The Roman party charged many of these evils to the

* Mr. Arber, *Introduction to Lever's Sermons*, p. 11.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14.

‡ An unlearned priest who could not read his Breviary.

change of religion : the Reforming party indignantly refuted and hurled back the charge. Among all the preachers of the period "none more bravely fought the battle of the loyal poor ; none more vigorously, even to personal hazard and danger, exposed the cruelty, covetousnes, and craft, of the rich and of the clergy, than Thomas Lever, the Cambridge Fellow, and the Boanerges of the Reformation."* No wonder that his Sermons were popular. No less than five editions of these three discourses were published in 1550.

Let us turn to the first of these : "A fruitfull Sermon made in Poules churche at London in the Shroudes the seconde daye of Februari by Thomas Leuer. Anno MD and fiftie." He begins at once with words of warning. "Alas England, God, whom thou mayest beleue for his truthe, hath sayd playnly thou shalt be destroyed, and all thyne ennemyes, bothe Scots, Frenchmen, Papistes, and Turkes, I do not meane the men in whome is some mercye, but the most cruell vices of these thy enemyes beyng wythout all pitie, as the couetousenes of Scotland, the pryd of Fraunce, the hipocryfy of Rome, and the Idolatrye of the Turkes. A hundred thousande of these enemies are landed at thy hauens, haue entred thy fortes, and do procede to spoyle, murther, and vtterly destroy : and yet for all this thou wretched Englande beleuest not gods worde, regardest not hys threatninge, calleſt not for mercye, ne feareſte not gods vengeance. Wherfore God beinge true of hys word and righteous in hys

* Edward Arber, *Introduction*, pp. 16-17.

dedes, thou Englande whyche wylt haue no mercye, shalt haue vengeance; whyche wylte not be sauued, shalte be destroyed. For God hath spoken, and it is wrytten."

God had said that every kingdom divided against itself should be desolate and destroyed. England "is not onelye diuyded, but also rente, torne, and plucked cleane in pieces."

Covetousnes is a fearful evil. "Every couetouse man is proude, thynkynge hymselfe more worthy a pounde then a nother man a penye, more fitte to haue chaunge of fylkes and veluettes then other to haue bare frise cloth, and more conueniente for hym to haue aboundinge of diuerse dilitates for hys daintye toth then for other to haue plenty of biefes and muttons for theyr hongry bellyes: and finnally that he is more worthye to haue gorgeouse houses to take his pleasure in, in bankettyng, then laborynge men to haue poore cotages to take rest in, in slepyng." The judgment of God will fall on all these.

This is but a sort of preamble to the Sermon. The text is, "Everye soule be subiecte vnto the hygher powers," and the following verses.* All ought to be under obedience, and to give to one another what is due: "howbeit experience declareth howe that here in Englande pore men haue been rebels, and ryche men haue not done their duetie."

The Apostles had all things common, and now "ryche menne shoulde kepe to theym selues no more

then they nede, and geue vnto the poore so muche as they nede." In this sence "christen mens goodes shuld be comen vnto euery mans nede, and priuat to no mans luste." There must be rich men and rulers, but the rich must use their wealth as became Christians. Alas, men did not so.

"As for example of ryche men, loke at the merchautes of London, and ye shall se, when as by their honest vocacion, and trade of marchandise god hath endowed them with great abundaunce of ryches, then can they not be content with the prosperous welth of that vocacion to satissye theym selues and to helpe other, but their riches muste abrode in the countrey to bie fermes* out of the handes of worshypfull gentlemen, honeste yeomen, and pore laborynge husbandes. Yea nowe also to bye personages† and benefices, where as they do not onelye bye landes and goodes but also lyues and soules of men, from God and the comen wealth, vnto the deuyll and theim selues. A myfcheuouse marte of merchandrie is this, and yet nowe so comenly vsed, that therby shepheardeis be turned to theues, dogges into wolues, and the poore flocke of Christ, redemed wyth his precious bloud, moste miserablye pylled and spoyled, yea cruelly deuoured. Be thou marchaunt of the citye, or be thou gentleman in the contrey, be thou lawer, be you courtear, or what maner of man soever thou be, that can not, yea yf thou be master doctor of diuinitie, that wyl not do thy duety, it is not lawfull for the to haue personage, bene-

* Fermes, *that is*, farms.

† Personages, parfonages.

fice, or any suche liuying, excepte thou do fede the flocke spiritually wyth goddes worde, and bodelye wyth honeste hospitalitey. I wyll touch diuerse kyndes of ryche men and rulers, that ye maye se what harme some of theim do wyth theyr ryches and authoritye. And especiallye I wyll begynne wyth theym that be best learned, for they feme belyke to do moste good wyth ryches and authoritie vnto theim committed. If I therefore beyng a yonge simple scholer myghte be so bolde, I wolde aske an auncient, wyse, and well-learned doctor of diuinitie, whych cometh not at hys benefice, whether he were bounde to fede hys flocke in teachynge of goddes worde, and kepyng hospitalitie, or no? He wold answere and saye: Syr, my curate supplieth my roume in teachynge, and my farmer in kepynge of house. Yea, but master doctor, by your leauue, both these more for your vauntage then for the paryshe conforte: and therfore the mo suche seruauntes that ye kepe there, the more harme is it for your paryshe, and the more synne and shame for you. Ye may thynke that I am sumwhat saucye to laye synne and shame to a doctor of diuinitie in thys solemne audience, for some of theim vse to excuse the matter and saye: Those whych I leauue in myne absence do farre better then I shoulde do, yf I taryed there my selfe. Nowe good master doctor ye saye the verye truthe, and therfore be they more worthye to haue the benefice then you your selfe, and yet neyther of you bothe sufficient mete or able: they for lacke of habilitie, and you for lacke of good wyll. Good wyll, quod he? Naye, I wolde wyth all my harte, but I am

called to serue the Kynge in other places, and to take other offices in the comen wealthe. Heare then what I shall aunswere yet once agayne: There is lyuynges and rewardes due and belongyng to theim that labour in those offyces, and so oughte you to be contente wyth the lyuyng and reward of that office onelye, and take no more, the duetye of the whyche office by your labour and diligence ye can discharge onlye, and do no more."

Let it be remembered that these words were spoken at S. Paul's itself, in the very heart of the City of London. He was a bold man who spoke of pluralities to the Clergy, and of the lust for land to rich and powerful merchants.

He proceeds to speak of the suppression of Abbeys, Cloisters, Colleges, and Chantries. The intention of the late King had been good in this matter. "Suche abundance of goodes as was supersticiously spente vpon vayne ceremonies, or voluptuously vpon idle bellies" might be more usefully expended for the better relief of the poor, the maintenance of learning, and the setting forth of God's word. Covetous officers had frustrated this design. "At the fyrste the intente was verie godly, the pretence wonderouse goodly, but nowe the vse, or rather the abuse and myforder of these thynges is worldlye, is wycked, is deuilyshe, is abhominable." He attacks the evil-doers. "You whych haue gotten these goodes into your own handes, to turne them rom euyll to worse, and other goodes mo frome good vnto euyll, be ye sure it is euen you that haue offended God, begyled the kynge, robbed the ryche,

spoyled the pore, and brought a comen wealth into a comen miserye. It is euen you that must eyther be plagued with gods vengeance as wer the Sodomytes, or amende by repentaunce as did the Nineuites." Not that abbeys and cloisters were to be founded again, but that charitable alms and honest hospitality were to be bestowed, and schools founded "for the brynnynge vp of yougth."

This is good contemporary evidence, if any were needed, as to the grievous abuses of the times. Greedy courtiers had swallowed up the church lands, and spent that which had been given for holy uses upon their own lusts. How did the courtiers like this preaching?

The people were groaning under heavy yokes, let them pray to God and He would deliver them. The rulers knew their duty to the people, let them forbear to load them with burdens that ought not to be borne.

He draws near to the end of the discourse, and gives a kind of parable to his hearers. " Harcke a lytle, and I shal tell you of an abhomynable robbery done in the Citye, knownen to the officers of the City, and as yet not punyshed, but rather mayntayned in the city. There is a greate summe of monye sente from an honorable Lord by hys seruaunte vnto those whome he is indettet vnto in the citye. The officers knowynge that they to whom thys monye is sente haue great nede of it, knowe also in what places, at what tymes, these vnthryfste seruauntes by whome it is sente, at gamnyng, banckettyng, and riot, do spende

it. If thys be an euell dede, why is it not punyshed? Bycause it is not knownen, some saye. But whyther they meane that it is not knownen to be done, or not knownen to be euyll, I doubt. And therefore here now wyll I make it openlye knownen boeth to be done, and also to be euell done, and worse suffered. But doeth not manye of you knowe? Sure I am that all you that be officers oughte to know that all that ryches and treasures whyche rych men, and rufflers, waste at gredye gamning, glotonous bancketting, and fuche riote, is not theyr owne, but sente by theym from the honorable Lord of heauen, vnto other that be honest, pore, and nedye: vnto whome God by hys promyse is indettet."

These are plain manly words, and must have gone home to many a heart. That they did so is quite certain, for in his second sermon, before the King, Thomas Lever sets forth the facts of the plunder of Sedburgh School in Yorkshire; in April 1551, that is within little more than a year after the sermon was delivered, King Edward VI. refounded the School. His bold words had angered many a hearer. In the very outset of this sermon, Lever says that there were not wanting men who said of a true preacher that he had "learned his lesson in Jackanapes court": but idle jests would not turn him from his earnest purpose. He could not endure that the rich should waste their money in riotous living whilst "olde Fathers, poore Wydowes, and yong Chyldren lye beggyng in the myrie stretes." We have lost, in these polished days, the roughnes, the occasional coarsenes, of these

earnest old preachers : and we have lost, too, what is of the highest value, the dauntless courage which enables men to denounce the crying evils of the time. We see them and are silent. Time is wasted on questions of infinitely small importance, whilst great sins and crying wickednesses pass unrebuked. Paul's Cross was not silent.

Lever's third sermon, at Paul's Cross, is not inferior in ability or in earnestness to those which preceded it. He lashes once more the covetousness of the times, and the prevailing corruptions. High places in the state are bought and sold ; not merit nor ability, but money, is the stepping-stone to power. Every secular office is in truth a religious office, every Christian commonwealth is the fold of Christ's sheep : yet a man would take such office only that he might enrich himself. "O that no man in thys faute wer gilty, then myght I be sure yat no man wold be offended." Those who held several offices or benefices are again censured : a small portion only of the revenues "doth serue two honest menne whyche ye leave in your absence."

" Herke you that haue three or foure benefyces. I wyll say the best for you that can be spoken. Thou lyest al wayes at one of thy benefyces, thou arte absente always from three of thy benefyces. Thou kepest a good house at one of thy benefyces, thou kepest no house at three of thy benefyces. Thou doest thy deutye at one of thy benefyces, thou doest no dutye at thre of thy benefices. Thou semest to be a good manne in one place, and in dede thou arte

founde noughe in thre places. Wo be vntoo you worse then Scrybes and Phariseis, Hypocrytes, whyche shut vp the kyngedome of heauen afore menne, kepynge the paryshe so that neyther you enter in your selfe, neyther suffer them that would enter in and do theyr dewtye, to haue your roumes and commodities. Woo be vnto you, dumme Dogges, choked wyth benefyces, so that ye be not able to open your mouthes to barcke agaynst pluryties, imroperacions, bying of vousons,* nor against anye euyll abuse of the cleargies lyuynges."

Great and rich men took to themselves the advantage and the profit of benefices, and gave unto their very children, "being ignoraunte babes, the names and tytles of Personnages, Prebendes, Archedeaconries, and of all manner of offyces." Plain speaking was most necessary, the whole fabric of society seemed corrupt.

But, leſt the laity ſhould be boastrful, they ſhall have a Parthian ſhot before the preacher ends. "You of the laytye, when ye ſee theſe ſmall motes in the eyes of the clargye, take heedē too the greate beames that be in your owne eyes. But alas I feare leaſt yat ye haue no eyes at all. For as hypocriſy and ſuperſticion dooeth bleare the eyes : So couetouerneſſe and ambycyon doeth putte the eyes cleane out. For yf ye were not ſtarke blynd ye would ſe and be aſhamed that where as fyfty tunne belyed Monckes, geuen to glottony, fylled theyr pawnches, kept vp theyr house,

* Buying of advowſons.

and relyued the whol country round about them, ther one of your gredye guttes deuowrynge the whole house and makyng great pyllage throughoute the countrye, cannot be satiffyed." The Sermon has a prefatory Epistle, and this Epistle is dedicated "unto the right honorable Lordes, and others of the Kynges Magestie hys Priuye Counsell," wishing them "increase of Grace and godly honoure." There must have been some amongst them who felt that the preacher's arrow found its way through the joints of the harness.

He proceeds to plead the cause of the University of Cambridge. Henry VIII. had made liberal gifts to it for "the exibition and fyndyng of ffe learned menne to reade and teache dyuynitye, lawe, Physycke, Greke, and Ebrue." Those around the King had defeated his good intentions. We "haue juste occasion to suspecte that you haue decyued boeth the kynge and vniuersitie, to enryche youre selues." The funds had been alienated, the number of the students was consequently reduced. He gives a sketch of the lives of some of the "poore, godly, dylygent studentes." "There be dyuers ther whych ryse dayly betwixte foure and fyue of the clocke in the morynge, and from fyue vntyll syxe of the clocke, vse common prayer wyth an exhortacion of gods worde in a commune chappell, and from sixe vnto ten of the clocke vse euer eyther pryuate study or commune lectures. At ten of the clocke they go to dynner, whereas they be content with a penye pyece of byefe*

* Bishop Fleetwood in his *Chronicon Preciosum* (pp. 116, 117).

amongest iiiij. hauyng a fewe porage made of the brothe of the same byefe, wyth salte and otemell, and nothyng els. After thys slender dinner they be either teachynge or learnynge vntyll v. of the clocke in the euenyng, when as they haue a supper not much better then theyr dyner. Immedyatelye after the whyche, they go eyther to reasonyng in problemes, or vnto some other studye, vntyll it be nyne or tenne of the clocke, and there beyng wythout fyre are fayne to walk or runne vp and downe halfe an houre, to gette a heate on their feete whan they go to bed. These be menne not werye of theyr paynes, but very forye to leue theyr studye: and sure they be not able some of theym to contynue for lacke of necef-sarye exibicion and relefe. These be the lyuyng sainentes whyche serue god takyng greate paynes in abstinence, studye, laboure and dylgence, wyth watching and prayer." A collection should be made among the rich merchants of the City to support these poor laborious students.

The Grammar Schools, too, had been grievously plundered "by reason of the gredye couetousnes of you that were put in trust by God and the kynge to erecte and make grammer scholes in manye places."

Impropriations are, once more, vigorously de-

edit. 1707), says, quoting Stow, that in 1533 it was enacted "that Butchers should sell their Beef and Mutton *by weight*—Beef for a *Half Penny* the Pound, and Mutton for *Three Farthings*. . . . The Butchers of *London* sold *Penny-Pieces* of beef, for the relief of the Poor; every Piece two pound and an half; sometimes 3 Pound for a Penny." Did the Cambridge Butchers in 1550 sell as cheaply?

nounced, in language of the strongest. The greedy covetousness of officers had devoured fair lands and goodly incomes. One man had swallowed up a whole Abbey, house, lands, and goods. If such men had the power, they would seize upon whole countries too.

Wicked servants of Mammon made the fruits of the earth dear. "I haue heard howe that euen this last yere, ther was certayn Acres of corne growyng on the ground bought for viii. poundes: he that bought it for viii. fold it for x. He that gaue x. pounds, fold it to an other aboue xii. pounds: and at laft, he that caryed it of the ground payde xiii. pounds. Lyke-wyfe I hearde, that certayne quarters of malte were boughte after the prycce of iii. shyllinges iiii. pence a quarter to be delyuered in a certayn markette towne vpon a certayne daye. Thys bargayne was so oft bought and folde before the daye of delyueraunce came, that the same Malte was folde to hym that shoulde receyue it there and carrie it awaye, after vj. s. a quarter." These unjust profits caused the poor to suffer, "the craftes man payinge so muche, and the husbandman takynge so lytle."

Land was dealt with in the same manner. Within a few miles of London, an honest gentleman did let his land unto poor honest men after ii. s. iiii. d. an acre: "Then commeth a lesemounger, a thefe, an extorcioner, deceiuyng ye tenaunts, bieth theyr leases, put theim from the groundes, and caufeth them yat haue it at hym nowe, to paye after ix. s. or as I harde saye, xix. s., but I am ashamed to name so muche."

These "Marchauntes of mischiefe commynge betwixte the barke and the tree, do make all thinges dere to the byers." They also carried away lead, wool, leather, and such substantial wares as would set many Englishmen to work, and do every man good service : and brought back, in their place, from foreign parts, silks, and fables, and foolish feathers, to fill the land full of such baggage as will never do rich or poor good and necessary service. God gave plenty, and man made dearnes and scarcity.

He concludes with an appeal to all orders and degrees. He would show each clasf its sins. "Vnto the clergy, the sinnes of ye clergy ; vnto the laitye, the synnes of the layte ; and vnto euery degré, ye sinnes yat be of that degré vsed." The Clergy fed themselves, and neglected the flock. They could not teach others, because they would not amend themselves. The nobility oppressed the commonalty. The commonalty were traitors and rebels ; they hurt, and troubled, ate up and devoured, one another. They oppressed each other, they made corn and land dear. All must repent and amend.

The Preacher's political economy may be received with scant favour nowadays ; but no one can rise from the perusal of these Sermons without feeling that the speaker is a bold, courageous, honest man. He speaks to the highest and to the lowest fearlesly. He attacks the actual sins of the day, and he does not spare the sinners. If there be comparatively little of the spiritual element in his teaching, it must be remembered that he was trying to lay the foundations of religion. It

is worse than idle to talk of high spiritual privileges to men who are steeped up to the eyes in fraud, oppression, and injustice. Thomas Lever was an Englishman to the backbone, a lover of liberty, a friend of the poor. It would have been well if all Paul's Cross Sermons had been filled with such sound doctrine.

An interesting parallel to Thomas Lever's remarks upon the cost of University education is found in a letter written from London in 1550 by Christopher Hales, and addressed to Henry Bullinger.* "I would rather recommend Oxford," he writes, "on account of the greater salubrity of the air. Cambridge, by reason of the neighbouring fen, is much expos'd to fever, as I have experienced more frequently than I could wish. With respect to expence, my friend informed me, that thirty French crowns would suffice tolerably well for a year; to which, if other ten could be added, a man might expect to live very comfortably. In my time, ten years since, twenty crowns were a sufficient allowance; but in these latter days, when avarice is everywhere increasing, and charity growing cold, and this by a divine scourge, everything has become almost twice as dear as it was. And this I attribute to no other cause than our proud and Pharaoh-like rejection of the spiritual food of our souls so liberally and abundantly offered."

* *Original Letters relative to the English Reformation* (Parker Society), vol. i. p. 190, Letter CI.

PAUL'S CROSS: ITS LATER HISTORY.



CHAPTER XII.

PAUL'S CROSS : ITS LATER HISTORY.



FULL history of Paul's Cross would be a history of religion in England. Every great event, political and religious, whilst the Cross was standing, found here its eloquent defender or denouncer. Here, as in some great panorama, the most illustrious forms pass before our eyes ; Kings, Queens, Prelates, Preachers, in their habit as they lived, as they were figured in the grim *Dance of Death* upon the cloister walls hard by. Papist denounced Protestant, and Protestant denounced Papist, with equal impartiality, as the ebb and flow of the tide brought either party to the front.

Let us take one or two examples.

Now the Reformers are in favour :

"The first of Nouember, [1552,] being the Feast of All Saints, the new Service Booke called Of Common Prayer, began in Paules Church, and the like through the whole Cittie, the Bishop of London, Doctor Ridley,

executing the seruice in Paules Church in the forenoone in his rochet onely, without coape or vestment, preached in the quier ; and at afternoone hee preached at Pauls Crofse, the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and Crafts in their best Liveries being present : which Sermon, tending to the setting forth the faid late made Booke of Common Prayer, continued till almost fие of the clocke at night.*

Only two months before † Ridley had visited the Princess Mary at Hunsden, and had offered to preach before her. She had declined to hear him.

“ Ye may preach if you list, but neither I nor any of mine shall hear you.”

“ Madam,” said Ridley, “ I trust you will not refuse God’s Word.”

“ I cannot tell what ye call God’s Word,” replied Mary, “ that is not God’s Word now, that was God’s Word in my father’s days.”

“ God’s Word is one at all times, but hath been better understood and practised in some ages than in other.”

Mary. “ You durst not for your ears have avouched that for God’s Word in my father’s days that now you do : and as for your new books, I thank God, I never read any of them, I never did nor ever will do.”

At the close of the interview, the Bishop accepted Sir Thomas Wharton’s offer of refreshment ; but when he had eaten, suddenly exclaimed :

* Stow, *Annales*, p. 608.

† Fox, *Acts and Monuments*. About Sept. 8, 1552.

"Surely I have done amiss."

"Why so?" quoth Sir Thomas.

"For I have drunk," said he, "in that place where God's Word offered hath been refused, whereas if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken off the dust of my shoes for a testimony against this house."

"These words were by the said bishop spoken with such a vehemency, that some of the hearers afterward confessed their hair to stand upright on their heads." Had Mary been present, one would have liked to hear her rejoinder: it is possible that she, too, would have spoken with "such a vehemency."

In the like earnest spirit, no doubt, Ridley came to Paul's Cross. It was not the only time that he stood there. In the *Second Conference between Ridley and Latimer in prison*,* Ridley says, in answer to the question, "Have not you used in times past to say masses yourself?"—"I confess unto you my fault and ignorance; but know you that for these matters I have done open penance long ago both at Paul's Cross, and also openly in the pulpit at Cambridge. And I trust God hath forgiven me this mine offence, for I did it upon ignorance." In his *Conference with Secretary Bourn*, at the Lieutenant's table in the Tower,† he refers to the doctrine which he had maintained at Paul's Cross on the subject of the Eucharist.

A short time only has elapsed, but the scene is

* Parker Society, *Works of Bishop Ridley*, p. 119.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 162, 163.

changed. Edward is gathered to his fathers, and Mary reigns in his stead. The Roman party is triumphant, at least in high places.

On Sunday, August 13th, 1553, Bourne, whom Queen Mary had appointed her chaplain, preached at Paul's Cross. There had been a riot at S. Bartholomew's on August 11th, when a priest had attempted to say mass. The Queen removed to Richmond on Saturday, August 12th. On the following day another priest was attacked at the altar, the vestments were torn from his back, and the chalice snatched from his hands. Bourne was set to preach at the Cross. "A crowd of refugees and English fanatics had collected round the pulpit. He spoke in praise of Bonner, and said that he had been unjustly imprisoned. At these words, says Renard, the popular exasperation broke out. Yells arose: 'Papist! Papist! tear him down!' A dagger was hurled at the preacher, fwords were drawn, the mayor attempted to interfere, but he could not make his way through the dense mass of the rioters; and Bourne would have paid for his rashness with his life, had not Courtenay, who was a popular favourite, with his mother, the Marchioness of Exeter, thrown themselves on the pulpit steps, while Bradford sprung to his side and kept the people back till he could be carried off."*

In Wriothesley's *Chronicle*† it is said that Bishop Bonner himself was present, and that "the Lord

* Froude, *History of England*, vi. pp. 60, 61.

† *Chronicle*, ii. pp. 97, 98.

Courtney and the Lady Marques of Execeter had as much adoe by their meanes to see the sayd Bishop conveyed in safete through the Church, the people were so rude."

Machyn,* in his wildest spelling, as if the tumult had disturbed his thoughts, records the riot in his own quaint manner. "The xiii day August dyd prycche at Powles Croffe doctur [Bourne] parson of Hehnger [that is, of High Ongar] in Effex, the qwen chaplen : and ther gret up-rore and showtyng at ys sermon, as yt [were] lyke mad pepull, watt yonge pepell and woman [as] ever was hard, as herle-borle, and castyng up of capes. [If] my Lord Mer and my lord Cortenay ad not ben ther, ther had bene grett Myfcheyff done." It is clearly the account of an eye-witnes.

Gilbert Bourne was one of the Prebendaries of S. Paul's, and in his sermon he had prayed for the souls departed, and had not only praised Bonner, but had spoken ill of Ridley. He certainly had a narrow escape, for the dagger struck one of the side-posts of the pulpit.† Master Bradford came into the pulpit, says Fox,‡ and "spake so mildly, christianly, and effectuously, that with few words he appeased all: and afterward he and Master Rogers conducted the preacher betwixt them from the pulpit to the grammar-school door, where they left him safe, as further, in the story of Master Bradford, is declared." Fox does

* Machyn's *Diary*, p. 41.

† Notes to Machyn's *Diary*, p. 332.

‡ Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, vi. p. 392.

not mention Courtenay's intervention ; he was anxious, it would seem, "to point a moral and adorn a tale," for he goes on to say that, shortly after, Bradford and Rogers "were both rewarded with long imprisonment, and, last of all, with fire in Smithfield." Bourne was consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells on April 1st, 1554, but was deprived by Elizabeth in the first year of her reign, on his refusing to take the oath of supremacy.

On the following Sunday, August 20th, Mr. Watson,* "a bachelor of divinity and chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester," preached at Paul's Cross, under a guard of two hundred soldiers, "with their halberdes." The companies stood around "in their liueries and hoodes all the sermon tyme, to herken yf any leude or sedicious persons made any rumors or misorder." The preacher declared "the obedience of subiectes, and what erronious sectes are raigninge in this realme by false preachers and teachers; to the godly edyfyng of the audience there present;" and, thanks to the guard, there was no tumult. Thomas Watson was a young man. He was thirty-three years of age in 1551, when he gave evidence on behalf of Bishop Gardiner.† Cranmer, long ago, had set him in the stocks at Canterbury :‡ so, no doubt, he spoke very earnestly. Those who are curious as to his sermon may find some account of it, written by an

* Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, ii. pp. 99, 100.

† Froude, *History*, vi. p. 68.

‡ Fox, vi. p. 151. At page 205, however, he is said to have been "of the age of 34 or 35 years," still under the same date, 1551.

unfriendly hand, in Fox.* He had a goodly audience: the Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Rich, amongst them.

The time was near at hand when Roman doctrine would be heard without protest, if not with approval. The dominant party knew how to silence gainfayers. That is a lesson which dominant parties soon learn.

On Monday, August 21st, the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir Henry Gates, Sir Thomas Palmer, recanted, and abjured the Protestant faith, in the Chapel of the Tower, certain of the citizens of London being present. The Duke prayed earnestly for life—"Oh that it would please her good Grace to give me life, yea, the life of a dog, if I might but live and kiss her feet, and spend both life and all in her honourable service!" The next morning, at nine o'clock, Mass was said in the Tower Chapel. Northumberland repeated his abjuration on the scaffold: it was soon red with the blood of the Duke, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer. "On the 24th, two days after the scene on Tower Hill,† so little was a guard necessary, that Mass was said in S. Paul's in Latin, with matins and vespers. The crucifix was replaced in the rood-loft, the high altar was re-decorated, the real presence was defended from the pulpit, and except from the refugees not a murmur was heard."

And now it was easy to re-introduce the images which had been destroyed. "In the second year of Mary,

* Fox, vi. p. 768.

† Froude, *History*, vi. pp. 66-75.

Bonner in his royalty and all his prebendaries about him in Paul's Choir, the Rood laid along upon the pavements, and also, the doors of Paul's being shut—the Bishop with others said and sung divers prayers by the Rood. That being done, they anointed the Rood with oil in divers places; and, after the anointing, crept unto it, and kissed it. After that, they took the said Rood, and weighed him up, and set him in his old accustomed place; and all the while they were doing thereof, the whole Choir sang *Te Deum*; and when that was ended, they rang the bells, not only for joy, but also for the notable and great part they had done therein.

"Not long after this, a merry fellow came into Paul's, and spied the Rood with Mary and John new set up; whereto, among a great sort of people, he made low courtesy, and said: 'Sir, your mastership is welcome to town. I had thought to have talked further with your mastership, but that ye be here clothed in the Queen's colours. I hope that ye but a summer's bird, in that ye be dressed in white and green.'"^{*}

Once more the ebb and flow. Mary is dead, and Elizabeth reigns in her stead. The newly erected images are expelled. "On the euen of S. Bartholomew, the day and the morrow after, &c., were burned in Paules Churchyard, Cheape, and diuers other places of the City of London, all the roodes and other Images of the Churches, in some places the Coapes, vestments, altar-clothes, books, banners, sepulchres, and rood-lofts were burned."[†]

* Fox, vi. pp. 558-559.

† Stow, *Annales*, 1559, p. 640.

In Wriothesley's *Chronicle** the significant addition is made that these Roods and vestments had cost about £2,000 when they were renewed in Queen Mary's time. He seems to imply that the objects then consumed were the roods and images "that stode in the parishe churches." The Reformers were triumphant.

On Ash-Wednesday, 1565, a very different company assembled at S. Paul's. The Queen, Elizabeth, came in person to the Crofs, de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador, at her side. Alexander Nowell, the Dean of S. Paul's, was the preacher. "A vast crowd had assembled—more, the Queen thought, to see her than to hear the sermon. The Dean began, and had not proceeded far when he came on the subject of images 'which he handled roughly.'

"'Leave that alone,' Elizabeth called from her seat.

"The preacher did not hear, and went on with his invectives.

"'To your text, Mr. Dean,' she shouted, raising her voice: 'To your text! leave that; we have heard enough of that! To your subject.'

"The unfortunate Doctor Nowell coloured, stammered out a few incoherent words, and was unable to go on. Elizabeth went off in a rage with the ambassador. The congregation—the Protestant part of it—were in tears. Archbishop Parker, seeing the Dean 'utterly dismayed,' took him 'for pity home to Lambeth to

* Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, ii. p. 146.

dinner,' and wrote to Cecil a respectful but firm remonstrance."*

Nowell himself could speak strongly when he pleased. On the 12th of January, 1563, he and Day, the provost of Eton, had preached, Nowell at Westminster, Day at S. Paul's. The occasion was the opening of Parliament and of Convocation. The subject of both sermons, says Mr. Froude,† was the same: "the propriety of 'killing the caged wolves'—that is to say the Catholic bishops in the Tower—with the least possible delay." The statement does not rest only upon the authority of a letter from De Quadra to Philip in the archives of Simancas, a source which might be thought open to suspicion; but is supported by an extract from Dean Nowell's own Sermon, taken from a manuscript in the library of Caius College, Cambridge, printed at the end of the seventh volume of Mr. Froude's *History*.

Nowell had fallen under Elizabeth's displeasure before this occasion. He preached at S. Paul's on New Year's Day, 1562, and the Queen attended. "The Dean,‡ having met with several fine engravings, representing the stories and passions of the saints and martyrs, had placed them against the epistles and gospels of their respective festivals in a Common Prayer Book, which he had caused to be richly bound, and laid on the cushion for the Queen's use, in the place where she commonly sat: intending it for a New

* Froude, *History*, viii. pp. 136, 137. † *Ibid.*, vii. pp. 479, 541.

‡ Churton, *Life of Nowell*, pp. 71-73.

Year's Gift for her Majesty, and thinking to have pleased her fancy therewith . . . When she came to her place, and had opened the book, and saw the pictures, she frowned and blushed: and then shutting the book (of which several took notice) she called for the verger, and bade him bring her the old book, wherein she was formerly wont to read. After sermon, whereas she used to get immediately on horseback or into her chariot, she went straight to the vestry, and applying herself to the Dean, thus she spoke to him :

“ ‘ Mr. Dean, how came it to pass that a new service book was placed on my cushion ? ’

“ To which the Dean answered, ‘ May it please your Majesty, I caused it to be placed there.’

“ Then said the Queen, ‘ Wherefore did you so ? ’

“ ‘ To present your Majesty with a New Year's Gift.’

“ ‘ You could never present me with a worse.’

“ ‘ Why so, Madam ? ’

“ ‘ You know I have an aversion to idolatry, to images, and pictures of this kind.’

“ ‘ Wherein is the idolatry, may it please your Majesty ? ’

“ ‘ In the cuts resembling angels and saints; nay groffer absurdities, pictures resembling the Blessed Trinity.’

“ ‘ I meant no harm : nor did I think it would offend your Majesty, when I intended it for a New Year's Gift.’

“ ‘ You must needs be ignorant then. Have you forgot our proclamation against images, pictures, and

Romish reliques in the Churches? Was it not read in your Deanery?

"‘It was read. But be your Majesty assured I meant no harm, when I caused the cuts to be bound with the service book.’

"‘You must needs be very ignorant to do this after our prohibition of them.’

"‘It being my ignorance, your Majesty may the better pardon me.’

"‘I am sorry for it, yet glad to hear it was your ignorance, rather than your opinion.’

"‘Be your Majesty assured, it was my ignorance.’

"‘If so, Mr. Dean, God grant you His Spirit, and more wisdom for the future.’

"‘Amen. I pray God.’

"‘I pray you, Mr. Dean, how came you by these pictures? Who engraved them?’

"‘I know not who engraved them. I bought them.’

"‘From whom bought you them?’

"‘From a German.’

"‘It is well it was from a stranger. Had it been any of our subjects, we should have questioned the matter. Pray let no more of these mistakes, or of this kind, be committed within the churches of our realm for the future.’

"‘There shall not.’”

Elizabeth was about eight-and-twenty when this dialogue occurred, and Nowell, a man of ripe age, about fifty-four. It is not an edifying spectacle, the Dean of Paul’s, a grave and reverend divine, brow-beaten by an imperious young woman, though she was

a Queen. In 1562 she rebukes him for the pictures in her Prayer Book ; in 1565, *varium et mutabile semper*, because he spoke against images. It seems not unlikely that he really was pointing at the crucifix still standing in the Royal Chapel. His transition, he says, which aroused the Queen's displeasure, was " from Dame Grace's books burned, to Images, termed the Books of Ideots, which I took as not altogether impertinent."*

He was received back, however, into the royal favour, for on Tuesday, the 20th of August, 1588, he was selected to give the first public notice, from Paul's Cross, of the defeat of the Spanish Armada ;† and again on the 8th of September, he performed a similar duty. Eleven ensigns, taken from the Spaniards, waved from the lower battlements of S. Paul's. A streamer, on which was painted the Virgin and Child, was held in a man's hand over the pulpit. On November 24th, the Queen herself, in a chariot of state, drawn by a pair of white horses, came in solemn procession from Somerset House to S. Paul's, to return public thanks to Almighty God for the great victory. Aylmer, the Bishop of London, and Dean Nowell received her at the Cathedral.

The mention of Aylmer's name recalls a remarkable and characteristic letter written by the Bishop in 1581 to the then Lord Mayor, Sir James Hervey, in which the prelate lectures the Lord Mayor somewhat

* Churton, *Life of Nowell*, p. 111, note. † *Ibid.*, p. 293.

severely and rates him roundly upon some misconduct at Paul's Crofs. Bishop Aylmer was evidently very angry. He plunges at once *in medias res*. "My Lord Maior," he says,* "I heare that yow deale very hardly with the preachers and Clergie, the ouersight of whome god and Her Majestie hath comitted unto me. . . . Yow thou them, yow taunte them, yea such as by calling are Archedecons, by lawe not enferior to yow when yow be out of your Maraltie. Your son beknauth them. Wherefore if any complaine, he is like to answere it. . . . I passe ouer my self, whome it pleafeth yow to tearme familiarly by the name of Aelmer, as unreuerently as if I shold omitt the name of your office and call yow Haruey, which, god willing, I will not doe, to teach yow good manners. Yow say that when Aelmer was in Zurich, he thought c^{li} a year was enoughe for any minister: and so thought yow paraduenture in your prentishood, that c^{li} a year had been well for a merchaunte. Yow are glaunsing at my house keping, and that the B. of London feasted the L. Maior and his bretheren: I thinke that wonte was but once, and therefore I minde not to followe it as a presidenc; and as little as yow make of Aelmers hospitalitie, yet if yow compare v yeres of yours with v yeres of his, his may chaunce to ouerreache your 4000 l*l*." He proceeds in a similar strain, making one very good point *en paf-sant*, as regards the Lord Mayor's lack of courtesy: "the nexte yere," he says, "I may remember it, when

* The letter was printed, I believe for the first time, in my *Documents, etc.*, pp. 128-130.

by gods grace I ame like to be as I ame and yow somewhat inferior to that that you are ;" and thus he brings his vigorous letter to a close : " If yow take this in good parte as coming from him that hath charge ouer yow, I ame glad. If not, I must tell yow your dutie out of my chaire, which is the pulpit at Poules crosse, where yow must sitt not as a iudge to comptrole, but as a scholler to learne : and I not as John Aelmer to be thwarted, but as John London to teache yow and all London : and if you use not your self as an humble scholler, then to dissipline yow as a teacher and prelate. Thus I bidd your LP hartely farewell. Fullham this j. of March, 1581. Your Lps louing frend and Bisshop, John London." Did the Lord Mayor reply to his "louing frend and Bisshop"? The answer would be worth reading. There was evidently an old feud between the Bishop and the Chief Magistrate.

Fuller says* of Aylmer that he was "one of a low stature but stout spirit, very valiant in his youth and witty all his life." And he tells an odd story of him, that "once when his auditory began at sermon to grow dull in their attentions, he presently read unto them many verfes out of the Hebrew text, where at they all started, admiring what use he meant to make thereof. Then shewed he them their folly, that whereas they neglected English, whereby they might be edified, they listened to Hebrew, whereof they understood not a word."

It is even said that on one occasion, when preaching

* Fuller, *Church History*, edit. J. S. Brewer, vol. v. pp. 200, 201.

at S. Paul's, the Bishop produced a skull from under his gown that he might stimulate the flagging attention of the congregation.*

The Paul's Cross preachers were wont to be received and entertained at the "Shunammite's House;" a house so called because "besides the stipend paid the preacher, there is provision made also for his lodging and diet for two days before, and one day after his sermon."† To this house, in or about the year 1581, came Richard Hooker wet, weary, and weather-beaten; worn out by his long ride upon an ill-paced horse which would not trot. The house was kept at that time by one John Churchman, sometime a draper of good note in Watling Street, but who had fallen into poverty. Mrs. Churchman nursed the great theologian carefully, gave him a warm bed, and proper food, and by her diligent attendance so far cured his cold that he was able to preach his sermon, whereof he had despaired. But her kindness was fatal to his peace. Mrs. Churchman deluded the good simple man—(Fuller‡ speaks of his "dove-like simplicity")—persuaded him "that he was a man of a tender constitution"—and "that it was best for him to have a wife, that might prove a nurse to him; such an one as might both prolong his life, and make it more comfortable"—nay, she went on to say, that "such an one

* Mackenzie Walcott, *Traditions and Customs*, p. 87.

† Walton's *Life of Hooker*, prefixed to Keble's edition of Hooker's *Works*, i. pp. 22, 23 (5th edit.).

‡ Fuller, *History*, v. p. 235.

she could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry." He was entrapped into a marriage with Mrs. Churchman's daughter, who had "neither beauty nor portion :" and, worse still, was of a shrewd temper. She proved a thorough Xantippe. As Melancthon was seen by a friend with a book in one hand, whilst the other rocked a cradle ; so, when two of his college friends came to visit him, "Richard was called to rock the cradle." Profound theological learning had not made him a match for a designing mother and an ill-conditioned daughter.

In 1595, November 17th, "a day of great triumph for the long and prosperous raigne of her Majestie at London, the Pulpit Crosse in Paules Churchyard was new repayred, and partly inclosed with a wal of bricke," as Stow records in his *Annals*. "Doctour Fletcher, Bishop of London, preached there in prayse of the queene." The trumpets sounded upon the church leads, the cornets winded, "the quiristers sung an anthem;" on the steeple many lights were burned, the Tower shot off her ordnance, the bells were rung, and bonfires made.

On May 30th, 1630, King Charles I., having attended divine Service in S. Paul's Cathedral, "went into a roome and heard the Sermon at Paules Crosse." Three years later, in 1633, the Sermons which usually had been preached at the Cross were removed into the Choir of the Cathedral.* The Vergers, in a Peti-

* Dugdale, *S. Paul's*, p. 91, note.

tion preserved amongst the State Papers,* says that "for the repaire of the Church the Sermons appointed for the Cross were remooved from the yard into the Quire." There is good reason to believe that about this time the Cross itself was taken down.

Dugdale states, very plainly, that in "1643, Isaac Penington being Lord Mayor, the famous Cross in the churchyard, which had been for many ages the most noted and solemn place in this nation, for the gravest divines and greatest scholars to preach at, was, with the rest of the crosses about London and Westminster, by further order of the said Parliament pulled down to the ground."[†] This is a very clear and definite statement; but is it accurate? It has been repeated without question again and again.[‡] There is a view in Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata* representing the pulling down of *Cheapside Cross*, and on the plate is engraved a short account which states that it was pulled down on the 2nd of May, 1643, and that, on May 10th, the Book of Sports was burnt by the common hangman on the place where the Cross had stood. It is usually supposed that Paul's Cross fell at the same time, but Professor Gardiner has brought under my notice a passage from a somewhat rare tract, *A dialogue between the Crosse in Cheap and Charing Cross*, published in 1641, which serves to cast considerable doubt upon the commonly received opinion.

* Printed in my *Documents*, pp. 140, 141.

[†] *S. Paul's*, p. 109.

[‡] I have lately repeated it (alas !) in *Documents*, etc. (Camden Society).

The Cross in Cheap and Charing Cross are holding a conversation, and the following words are spoken :

"*Char.* Paul's Crosse, the most famous preaching place, is downe and quite taken away."

"*Cheap.* It is true, but with an intent to be built fairer and bigger when the Church shall be finished."

If Paul's Cross was "downe and quite taken away" in 1641, it is exceedingly improbable that it was re-erected in time to be pulled down by the Lord Mayor in 1643. It was certainly down on May 16th, 1643, for on that day a Court was holden under the presidency of Sir Isaac Pennington, when a petition was read from the Parishioners of "ffaithes vnder Paules Church," in which complaint is made that the "Stones, rubbish, pales, and sheds" in the Churchyard are of much detriment to the Parishioners and are a hindrance to the entrance of light into their houses. The Court orders that the obstructions be removed ; and further appoints Sir John Gayre, Knight and Alderman, and Mr. Alderman Gibbs, "to consider of a convenient and fitt place within the said yard for a pulpitt to stand in, and also of a convenient place for the Lord Maior and Aldermen to sitt in to heare the Word of God preached as heretofore hath byn accustomed vpon the Lords day." The said Aldermen are "to certefie vnto this Court theyre doeings and opinions."*

It must be confessed that Sir Isaac Pennington has been wronged in this matter. Certainly his other

* Records in the Guildhall. Repertory, 56, 1642-43 (unpublished).

deeds would not lead one to think that he would have had any dislike to pull down a Crofs ; but probably Paul's Crofs had nothing about it to offend him, save, indeed, the Crofs at its summit. No figures of saints, no effigy of the Virgin and Child, as at Cheapside Crofs, would have stirred his wrath : Paul's Cross was but an outdoor pulpit.

If the evidence of the tract just cited is to be believed—and there seems no reason to doubt it—the Cross had been taken down only in order that it might be rebuilt “fairer and bigger” when the Church was finished.

Dugdale, however, who died on February 10th, 1685—and worthy Thomas Fuller, who died August 16th, 1661—might fairly have been supposed to give us good testimony upon a contemporary event. The latter says, “No zealot reformer (whilst Egypt was Christian) demolished *the Pyramids* under the notion of Pagan Monuments.”* And afterwards, regretting the destruction of Paul’s Crofs, he says, “Methinks, though idle crosses, standing only for show, were published for offenders, this useful one which did such service, might have been spared. But all is fish which comes to the net of sacrilege.” It was “guilty of no other superstition save accommodating the preacher and some about him with convenient places.”†

The *Charge Books* of the Cathedral throw some light upon this difficult point: for in June, 1635,

* *Pisgah-Sight*, iiv. p. 83. See Mr. J. E. Bailey’s excellent *Life of Fuller*, p. 442.

† Fuller’s *Worthies of England*, edit. 1840, ii. pp. 136, 137.

labourers were employed in carrying away "the Lead, Timber, &c., that were pull'd downe of the Roomes where the Prebends of the Church, the Doctors of the Law, and the Parishioners of St. ffaith's did sett to heare Sermons at St. Pauls Crosse." Extensive repairs were, at this time, being carried out at the Eastern end and Northern side of the Cathedral. The volume* from which the above passage is taken is one of the *Charge Books*, finely transcribed on vellum; the last page bears, amongst other signatures, those of Archbishop Laud, Bishop Juxon, Lord Arundel and Surrey, Lord Manchester, Inigo Jones, and Windebank. Succeeding entries in the same volume render it highly probable that the Cross had previously been taken down, and that preparations were being made for its re-erection.

Certainly the Cross had been most impartial. Every phase of religious opinion had found expression there. Hear what Carlyle† says: "Paul's Croſſ was a kind of Stone Tent, with leaden roof, at the N.E. corner of Paul's Cathedral, where sermons were still, and had long been, preached in the open air; crowded devout congregations gathering there, with forms to sit on, if you came early. Queen Elizabeth used to 'tune her pulpits,' she said, when there was any great thing on hand; as Governing Persons now strive to tune the Morning Newspapers. Paul's Croſſ, a kind of *Times Newspaper*, but edited partly

* Preserved amongst the archives of the Cathedral. Press-mark, W. F. 4.

† *Letters and Speeches of O. Cromwell*, edit. 1873, i. pp. 55, 56.

by Heaven itself, was then a most important entity!"

In process of time the precise site of Paul's Cross was forgotten. It was reserved for Mr. Penrose, the Cathedral Surveyor,* to search diligently for it and to find it. The outline of the octagonal base may now be seen, in the churchyard, at the N.E. angle of the Choir of the present Cathedral. A portion of the *podium* coincides with the wall of the existing church: it would have been about twelve feet distant from the walls of old S. Paul's. Mr. Penrose has favoured the writer with a sketch of his discoveries, from which it appears that the octagonal base measured about thirty-seven feet across. The sides of the octagon were not parallel to the axis of the old Cathedral, but four of the sides faced very nearly to the four cardinal points. The platform itself was supported by a vault. A brick wall was found which probably carried the timber supports of the pulpit proper. The probable diameter of the pulpit itself was eighteen feet.

* On April 2, 1879, I had the great pleasure of receiving a note from Mr. Penrose, in which he wrote, "We have found the foundation of S. Paul's Crofs."



PAUL'S WALK.



CHAPTER XIII.

PAUL'S WALK.

PHE grand and spacious Nave of the Cathedral obtained the name of Paul's Walk : a name only too suggestive of the profanations of which it became the scene. It was the common lounge of the idler, the Fop's Alley of the day. It will be remembered that there were two doors exactly opposite to each other, piercing the north and south walls, about the middle of the Nave ; and that there were grand entrances at each of the transepts. These two sets of doors, immediately opposite to each other, were only too suggestive to the profane of the ease with which a short cut might be made from one side of the churchyard to the other. A common thoroughfare was soon established. Presently men were not satisfied with merely passing through the Church. The porter with his heavy burden on his shoulders, the water-carrier with his buckets, found it pleasant enough to set down their burdens, and to rest in the cool shade of the massive

pillars. Nor was this all, for both men and women soon began to bring their wares into the holy place, and to buy and sell and get gain. As early as the year 1385, Bishop Braybrooke, from his Palace hard by the Cathedral, writes a very vigorous letter to his faithful laity upon the subject of the buyers and sellers in the Church of S. Paul.* He calls to mind the example of the Divine Redeemer, who visited the Temple at Jerusalem, and "seeing that the people were more intent on buying and selling than on prayers," cast out the offenders, and proclaimed that they had made the House of God a den of thieves. So, alas, it had come to pass that in the very Cathedral of S. Paul on ordinary days, and still more on festival days, men and women thronged to the holy place with their merchandise. There, at their several standing places, just as in a public market, they exposed their wares. Other pollutions took place which revealed themselves not only to the eyes but also to the nostrils of the faithful. Some took delight in hurling stones at the crows, pigeons, and other birds, which built their nests about the towers and battlements; whilst some, more daring still, shot at them with arrows and crossbow bolts, breaking the pictured windows, and even the statues which graced the exterior. Solemn monition is to be given by all Rectors, Vicars, Curates, and other Clergy throughout the City of London to their people, absolutely forbidding such profanations, under pain of the Greater Excommunication. And if, after

* I have printed the letter, from the original entry in Bishop Braybrooke's Register, in my *Statuta S. Pauli*, pp. 391-2.

the monition had been thrice repeated, any were so bold as to transgress, the offenders were to be publicly excommunicated in due form, with bells, candles, and crofs.

The Statutes of the Cathedral, however, prove that the abuses continued. One Statute, in particular, provides that if the buyers and sellers despised the ecclesiastical censures, the vergers should seize upon their wares and cast them on the pavement.* Nor must it be supposed that such evil practices were peculiar to S. Paul's. The ancient Statutes of Wells Cathedral contain a similar clause,† and the like abuses were common enough elsewhere. At Exeter it was the first act of Seth Ward (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury) on his appointment as Dean in 1661, to "cast out of the Temple the Buyers and Sellers, who had usurp'd it, and therein kept distinct shops to vent‡ their Ware," as Dr. Walter Pope, his biographer, records. "At Durham there was a regular thoroughfare across the nave until 1750, and at Norwich until 1748, when Bishop Gooch stopped it. The naves of York and Durham were fashionable promenades. The Confessor's Chapel made, on occasion, a convenient play-ground for Westminster Scholars, who were allowed, as late as 1829, to keep the scenes for their annual play in the triforium of the north transept."§

* *Statuta S. Pauli*, p. 79.

† *Statuta Wellens*: Lambeth Library, MS. No. 929, p. 60.

‡ So in original. Pope's *Life of Seth Ward*, 8vo, London, 1697, p. 55.

§ Abbey and Overton's *English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, ii. p. 419.

If such flagrant abuses were common before the Reformation, when the Church was full of Altars, venerated images, shrines, and paintings, it can hardly be matter of surprise that they were greatly augmented when the Altars were destroyed and the sculpture and painting were alike removed. The Divine Service was said for the most part in the Choir, which was shut off from the rest of the Church by its close screen. The broad nave and transepts ceased to be regarded as holy.

In 1598, Bishop Bancroft held a Visitation of the Cathedral ; some of the returns made by the Clergy and Officials are still preserved in the Cathedral Record Room.* They disclose a lamentable state of things. One of the Vergers states that the Nave was "a comon passage and thorowfaire for all kinde of Burden-bearing people, as Colliers with sacks of Coles, Porters with Baskettes of fleshe, and such like." Another person complains "that Porters, Butchers, Water-berers, and who not? be suffred, in speciall in tyme of service, to carrye and recarrye whatsoever, no man withstandynge them or gaynsayenge them." Even the chorister boys, "the children of the queer," were eager in search of spur money ; and there was "fuche noyse of children and others in the side chaples and churche at the devine service and sermondes that a man may scarce be hearde for the noyse of them." Spur-money was a fee claimed by

* I have printed a selection from these in *Statuta S. Pauli*, pp. 276-278.

chorister boys from any person entering the church wearing spurs. The person from whom it was claimed had, however, the right of calling on the youngest chorister to sing his gamut; if he failed to do so, the spur-wearer escaped scot-free. It is said that the Duke of Wellington was challenged by one of the boys at the Chapel Royal, but that he escaped by this device. The custom lingered at Peterborough as late as 1847.* In the Privy Purse Expences of Henry VII. occurs this entry :

"1495. Oct. To the children, for the King's spoures 4s.": from which it would appear that even Kings were not exempt from the payment.

The allusions to Paul's Walk in the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are very frequent and are well known. A few only shall be cited here.

In *The Burnynge of Paules Church*, a rare little book, printed in 1562-3, Bishop Pilkington says : "The South Alley for Usurye and Popery, the North for Simony, and the Horse Faire in the middest for all kind of bargains, metings, brawlinges, morthers, conspiracies, and the Font for ordinarie paymentes of money, are so well knownen to all menne as the begger knowes his dishe."†

There was a "Serving man's pillar," where servants out of place waited to be hired. Falstaff, it will be remembered, engaged Bardolph as his servant in Paul's :

* *Statuta S. Pauli*, p. 275, note.

† *The Burnynge*, etc. G. iiiij.

"*Fal.* Where's Bardolph ?

Page. He's gone into Smithfield, to buy your worship a horse.

Fal. I bought him in Paul's, and he'll buy me a horse in Smithfield."*

Ben Jonson lays the scene of the third Act of his play, *Every Man out of his Humour*, in Paul's Walk.

John Chamberlain, son of an Alderman of London, interchanged a good deal of correspondence with Dudley Carleton, afterwards Lord Viscount Dorchester, and the following passages from the letters that passed between them will show that in the year 1600 Paul's Walk was the common place of meeting and of gossip for London loungers :†

" Nobody in Powles, *solitudo ante ostium* in Little Britain, and all as close and quiet as if it were midnight."

" Powles is so furnisht that it affords whatsoever is stirring in France, and I can gather there at first hand to serve my turne sufficiently."

" Here is nobody to talk with, for Pauls is as empty as a barn at Midsummer."

Bishop Corbet, who loved the Cathedral, and delivered a very quaint and forcible Charge to the Clergy of his Diocese of Norwich,‡ urging them to contribute to its restoration; yet could speak in such terms as these in his *Elegie written upon the death of Dr. Ravis, Bishop of London*, who died in 1609 :

* *Henry IV.*, Pt. 2, A. i. Sc. 2.

† *Chamberlain's Letters*, pp. 88, 176; and *Calendar of State Papers*, Eliz., vol. 275.

‡ Printed in my *Documents*, etc. pp. 134-139.

“ When I past Paules, and travell'd in that walke
Where all oure Brittaine-sinners sweare and talke ;
Ould Harry-ruffians, bankerupts, fute fayers,
And youth, whose cousenage is as ould as theirs.”

Samuel Speed, in *The Legend of his Grace Humphrey, Duke of S. Paul's Cathedral Walk*, says, in 1674 :

“ Some with their beads unto a pillar crowd,
Some mutter forth, some say their graces loud ;
Some on devotion come to feed their muse ;
Some come to sleep, or walk, or talk of news.”

But Bishop Earle—he was Bishop, successively, of Worcester and of Salisbury, and a staunch royalist—gives a singularly graphic account of Paul’s Walk in his very quaint and remarkable book, *Microcosmography*, first published in 1628. It is really worth while to extract the whole passage.*

“ *Paul's Walk* is the land’s epitome, or you may call it the lesser ifle of Great Britain. It is more than this, the whole world’s map, which you may here discern in its perfectest motion, justling and turning. It is a heap of stones and men, with a vast confusion of languages ; and, were the steeple not sanctified, nothing liker Babel. The noise in it is like that of bees, a strange humming or buzz mixed of walking, tongues, and feet : it is a kind of still roar, or loud whisper. It is the great exchange of all discourse, and no busines whatsoever but is here stirring and afoot. It is the synod of all pates politick, jointed and laid together in most serious posture, and they are not half so busy

* From the edition edited by Dr. Bliss in 1811, pp. 116-119.

at the parliament. It is the antick of tails to tails, and backs to backs, and for vizards you need go no farther than faces. It is the market of young lecturers, whom you may cheapen here at all rates and sizes. It is the general mint of all famous lies, which are here, like the legends of popery, first coined and stamped in the church. All inventions are emptied here, and not few pockets. The best sign of a temple in it is, that it is the thieves' sanctuary, which rob more safely in the crowd than a wilderness, whilst every searcher is a bush to hide them. It is the other expence of the day, after plays, tavern, and a bawdy-house; and men have still some oaths left to swear here. It is the ear's brothel, and satisfies their lust and itch. The visitants are all men without exceptions, but the principal inhabitants and possessors are stale knights and captains* out of service; men of long rapiers and breeches, which after all turn merchants here and traffic for news. Some make it a preface to their dinner, and travel for a stomach; but thriftier men make it their ordinary, and board here very cheap. Of all such places it is least haunted with hobgoblins, for if a ghost would walk more he could not."

Certainly the Bishop writes with an unsparing pen. It has been thought better to present the picture exactly as he has drawn it, without softening the more repulsive features.

Other allusions to the subject will be found in *The*

* In the *Dramatis Personæ* to Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, Bobadil is styled a *Paul's Man*.

Meeting of Gallants at an Ordinarie; or, The Walkes in Powles, a unique tract; the only copy known is in the Bodleian Library. It was printed in 1604, and was reprinted by Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps for the Percy Society in 1841.* The following passage occurs in it:

"But see yonder Signior Stramazon and Signior Kickshawe, now of a fuddaine allighted in Powles with their durtie Bootes. Lets encounter them at the fist Pillar; in them you shall finde my talke verified, and the fashion truly pictured. . . Mee thinkes, Signiors, this middle of Powles lookes strange and bare, like a long-hayrde Gentleman new powlde, washt and shaued. And I may fitly say shaued, for there was neuer a lusty Shauer seene walking here this halfe yeare; especially if he loued his life, hee would reuolt from Duke Humfrey, and rather bee a Wood-cleauer in the Countrey, then a chest-breaker in London. But what Gallants march vp a pace now, Signiors; how are the high waies fild to London?"

Even the very dresses of the Gallants are thought worthy of notice :

"But see how we haue lost our selues. Powles is changde into Gallants, and those which I saw come vp in old Taffata Doublets yesterday are flipt into nine yardes of Sattin to-day."

Our last reference shall be to Thomas Decker's *The Gul's Horn-booke*, imprinted at London in 1609.† A

* The reprint itself has now become scarce. The passages cited will be found at pages 11 and 14 of the Reprint.

† The quotations are taken from the reprint edited in 1872 by Charles Hindley.

whole Chapter in this book (Chapter IV.), is devoted to the subject, "How a Gallant should behave himself in Paul's Walks;" and if our extracts be rather lengthy, there will be some excuse for the length, in the minuteness and value of the details that are given.

"Your mediterranean isle* is then the only gallery, wherein the pictures of all your true fashionate and complemental Gulls are and ought to be hung up. Into that gallery carry your neat body; but take heed you pick out such an hour, when the main shoal of islanders are swimming up and down. . . .

"Be circumspect, and wary what pillar you come in at; and take heed in any case, as you love the reputation of your honour, that you avoid the serving-man's log, and approach not within five fathom of that pillar: but bend your course directly in the middle line, that the whole body of the Church may appear to be yours; where, in view of all, you may publish your suit in what manner you affect most, either with the slide of your cloak from the one shoulder; and then you must, as 'twere in anger, suddenly snatch at the middle of the inside, if it be taffeta at the least; and so by that means your costly lining is betrayed, or else by the pretty advantage of compliment. But one note by the way do I especially woo you to, the neglect of which makes many of our gallants cheap and ordinary, that by no means you be seen above four turns; but in the fifth make yourself away, either in some of the seamster's shops, the new tobacco-office, or amongst the book sellers, where, if you cannot read, exercise

* The middle aisle (as people incorrectly call it) of the Nave.

your smoke, and enquire who has writ against this divine weed. For this withdrawing yourself a little will much benefit your suit, which else, by too long walking, would be stale to the whole spectators; but howsoever, if Paul's Jacks* be once up with their elbows, and quarrelling to strike eleven, as soon as ever the clock has parted them and ended the fray with his hammer, let not the Duke's gallery† contain you any longer, but pass away apace in open view. In which departure, if by chance you either encounter, or aloof off throw your inquisitive eye upon any knight or squire, being your familiar, salute him not by his name of Sir such a one, or so; but call him Ned, or Jack, &c. This will set off your estimation with great men. And if, though there be a dozen companies between you, 'tis the better, he call aloud to you, for that is most genteel, to know where he shall find you at two o'clock; tell him at such an Ordinary, or such: and be sure to name those that are dearest, and whither none but your gallants resort. After dinner you may appear again, having translated yourself out of your English cloth cloak into a light Turkey grogram, if you have that happiness of shifting. And then be seen, for a turn or two, to correct your teeth with some quill or silver instrument, and to cleanse your gums with a wrought handkerchief: it skills not whether you dined or no, that is best known to your stomach; or in what place you dined, though it were with cheese of your own mother's making, in your chamber or study.

"Now if you chance to be a gallant not much crossed

* Figures striking the hours.

† An allusion to Duke Humfrey.

among citizens ; that is, a gallant in the mercer's books, exalted for satins and velvets ; if you be not so much blesst to be crossed ; (as I hold it the greatest blessing in the world to be great in no man's books) your Paul's Walk is your only refuge ; the Duke's tomb is a sanctuary, and will keep you alive from worms, and land rats that long to be feeding on your carcase. There you may spend your legs in winter a whole afternoon ; converse, plot, laugh, and talk anything : jest at your creditor, even to his face, and in the evening, even by lamplight, steal out, and so cozen a whole covey of abominable catchpoles. Never be seen to mount the steps into the Choir but upon a high festival day, to prefer the fashion of your doublet : and especially if the singing-boys seem to take note of you, for they are able to buzz your praises above their anthems, if their voices have not lost their [freshness]. But be sure your silver spurs dog your heels, and then the boys will swarm about you like so many white butterflies ; when you in the open choir shall draw forth a perfumed embroidered purse, the glorious sight of which will entice many countrymen from their devotion to wondering, and quoit silver into the boys' hands that it may be heard above the first lesson, although it be read in a voice as big as one of the great organs.

"This noble and notable act being performed, you are to vanish presently out of the Choir and to appear again in the Walk. But in any wise be not observed to tread there long alone, for fear you be suspected to be a gallant cashiered from the society of captains and fighters. . . .

" All the diseased horses in a tedious siege cannot show so many fashions as are to be seen for nothing every day in Duke Humphrey's Walk. If, therefore, you determine to enter into a new suit, warn your tailor to attend you in Paul's, who, with his hat in his hand, shall like a spy discover the stuff, colour, and fashion of any doublet or hose that dare be seen there : and, stepping behind a pillar to fill his table-books with those notes, will presently send you into the world an accomplished man : by which means you shall wear your clothes in print with the first edition. But if fortune favour you so much as to make you no more than a mere country gentleman, or but some degrees removed from him, (for which I should be very sorry, because your London experience will cost you dear before you shall have the wit to know what you are) then take this lesson along with you : the first time that you venture into Paul's, pass through the body of the Church like a porter, yet presume not to fetch so much as one whole turn in the middle isle, no nor to cast an eye to *Si quis* door, pasted and plastered up with serving-men's supplications, before you have paid tribute to the top of Paul's Steeple with a single penny. . . . Before you come down again I would desire you to draw your knife, and grave your name, or, for want of a name, the mark which you clap on your sheep, in great characters upon the leads, by a number of your brethren, both citizens and country gentlemen. And so you shall be sure to have your name lie in a coffin of lead, when yourself shall be wrapped in a winding-sheet ; and, indeed, the top of Paul's contains more names than Stow's *Chronicle*.

"These lofty tricks being played, and you, thanks to your feet, being safely arrived at the stairs' foot again, your next worthy work, is to repair to my lord Chancellor's tomb ;* and, if you can but reasonably spell, bestow some time upon the reading of Sir Philip Sidney's brief epitaph.† In the compass of an hour you may make shift to stumble it out. The great dial is your last monument : there bestow some half of the threescore minutes to observe the sauciness of the Jacks that are above the man in the moon there ; the strangeness of the motion will quit your labour. Besides, you may here have fit occasion to discover your watch, by taking it forth, and setting the wheels to the time of Paul's ; which, I assure you, goes truer by five notes than S. Sepulchre's chimes. The benefit that will arise from hence is this, that you publish your charge in maintaining a gilded clock, and withal the world shall know that you are a time-pleaser. By this, I imagine, you have walked your bellyful : and thereupon being weary, or, which rather I believe, being most gentlemanlike hungry, it is fit that I brought you into the Duke ; so because he follows the

* The huge monument to Sir Christopher Hatton, K.G., Lord Chancellor.

† The epitaph as given by Dugdale (p. 72) comprises only eight lines of English verse :

"England, Netherlands, the Heavens and the Arts,
 The Souldiers and the World, have made six parts
 Of noble Sidney ; for none will suppose
 That a small heape of stones can Sidney enclose.
 His Bodie hath England, for she it bred,
 Netherlands his Blood in her defence shed,
 The Heavens have his Soule, the Arts have his Fame,
 All Sculdiers the grief, the World his good Name."

fashion of great men, in keeping no house, and that therefore you must go seek your dinner ; suffer me to take you by the hand and lead you into an Ordinary."

The quotation is of great length ; but the light which it casts upon Paul's Walk justifies its introduction here. It might be thought that as Decker, its author, was a playwright, he has given us more of fancy and imagination than of real history. But the previous extracts from official documents, such as presentments at an episcopal visitation ; the passages from private letters ; the unbiased evidence of Bishop Corbet, and, indeed, the concurring testimony of contemporary literature—all tend to show that the picture is not overdrawn. Paul's Walk was, as was said at the beginning of this chapter, the Fop's Alley of the day : and the noise and busy profanity of the Nave even surged in upon Divine Service in the Choir.

Bishop Hall has much to say about *Si Quis Door* :*

Saw'st thou euer *Siquis* patch'd on Paul's Church Dore,
To seek some vacant Vicarage before ?
Who wants a Churchman that can seruice say,
Read fast and faire his monthly Homiley ?
And wed, and bury, and make Christen-soules ?
Come to the left-side Alley of Saint Poules.
Thou seruile Foole : why could'st thou not repaire
To buy a Benefice at Steeple-Faire ?
There moughtest thou for but a flender price
Aduowson thee with some fat benefice :
Or if thee lift not wayt for dead mens' shoon,
Nor pray ech morn th' Incumbents days wer done :
A thoufand Patrons thither ready bring
Their new-falne Churches to the Chaffering ;

* *Virgidemiarum*, 12mo., London, 1597, Lib. ii. Sat. 7, quoted in Dugdale, p. 107.

Stake three yeares Stipend ; no man asketh more :
 Go, take possession of the Church-Porch-doore,
 And ring thy bels : lucke-stroken in thy fist :
 The Parsonage is thine, or ere thou wist.
 Saint Fooles of Gotam mought thy parish bee,
 For this thy base and seruile Symonie."

It would appear that even so late as 1711, when Pope published his *Essay on Criticism* there was still great room for amendment. For he says :

" No place so sacred from such fops is barr'd,
 Nor is Paul's Church more safe than Paul's Churchyard :
 Nay, fly to altars ; there they'll talk you dead ;
 For fools rush in where angels fear to tread."*

Even in 1724 when Bishop Gibson visited the Cathedral, he records that " There hath grown an evil custom of great numbers of persons walking and talking in the body of the Cathedral Church during the time of Divine Service in the Choir, and more especially on the Lord's Day, to the great disturbance of the said Service, and the profanation of the house of God, and the offence of many serious and good Christians." And he enjoins the Dean and Residents " to prevent the same for the future," and if necessary, to put in action the statute made in the first year of William and Mary, *cap. 18*, against any who " willingly and of purpose maliciously and contemptuously come into any Cathedral or Parish Church, and disquiet or disturb the same."† It is to be supposed that the vigorous course of action recommended by the Bishop produced its natural effect.

* *Essay*, vv. 623-626.

† *Statuta*, p. 311.

S. PAUL'S DURING THE INTERREGNUM.



CHAPTER XIV.

S. PAUL'S DURING THE INTERREGNUM.

HE first edition of Sir William Dugdale's *History of S. Paul's Cathedral* was issued in 1658 ; "making therefore its period," as its author says in the preface to the second edition (printed in 1716), "with the commencement of the late wicked Rebellion raised by the Sectaries and their Adherents." He, naturally enough, does not enlarge very much upon the fortunes of the Cathedral during the times of the Interregnum. If he says but little, however, that little is worthy of attention. We are able, from other sources, from Documents preserved at the Record Office and elsewhere, to add some details of considerable interest to those who, having seen the Cathedral in its splendour, can bear to look upon it in its humiliation.

Charles I. suffered on Tuesday, 30th January, 1648-9, and Oliver Cromwell was not proclaimed Protector till 16th December, 1653. Long before the death of the King the troubles began.

From time to time there were serious disturbances caused by the unruly soldiery. In a letter sent from London by one Andrew Newport to Sir Richard Leveson,* 28th January, 1639-40, the writer says that "a troop of horse and a company of foot last night broke open the house of a draper in Paul's Church-yard, and carried away £4000 to Whitehall, for which they would shew the draper (a Common Councilman) no order. To-day the man was attending at the Parliament door, but what satisfaction he hath I do not yet hear." Drapers, at that time, had their headquarters in Paternoster Row: "this street, before the Fire of London, was taken up by eminent mercers, silkmen, and lacemen."† Pepys has recorded, amongst other matters of equal importance, that on 17th May, 1662, he and his wife, with Lady Sandwich, went "on foot to Paternoster Row, to buy a petticoat against the Queen's coming, for my lady, of plain satin."

Sectaries and fanatics propounded their opinions in public places. Amongst the Acts of the Court of High Commission in the year 1640 is an entry relating to one James Hunt, of Sevenoaks, Kent. "The Court being informed that Hunt was a fanatic and frantic person, a husbandman, and altogether illiterate, who took upon him to preach and expound the Scriptures, and was lately taken absurdly preaching on a stone in S. Paul's Churchyard, ordered him to be committed to Bridewell and remain there till further orders."‡

* Duke of Sutherland's MSS., *Historical MSS. Commission*, vol. v. p. 132, a.

† Strype's *Stow*, Book iii. p. 195.

‡ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1640 p. 415.

In November of the same year, John Rous, Incumbent of Santon Downham, Suffolk, writes : "In Paules Church lately, a great tumult against Doctor Ducke and others in the High Commission within the Consistory ; who escaping, much outrage was shewed in the Consistorie to the seates, &c. The Bishops, guarded with musket-men, came to the Convocation-house."* This is, in all probability, a brief notice of the serious riot more fully recorded by Collier† under the date 21st October, 1640. "When the High Commission sat at S. Paul's, about two thousand Brownists insulted the Court, pulled down all the benches in the Consistory, and cried out they would have no Bishops and no High Commission. Thus the king, by this tumult, was put to the expense of ordering a guard for S. Paul's, as he had done before at Westminster, for the protection of the Convocation. On the 3rd of November, the Long Parliament, which proved so fatal to the King, met at Westminster."

Preachers thought it necessary to allude to the troubles of the times in their public sermons. "Upon Tuesday, Nov. 17," still in the year 1640, "when the fast was kept at London for the Parliament, &c., I was at S. Paul's Church," says John Rous‡ "where one Mr. Stanwicke (or Kanwicke), a Chaplain to my lord of Ely, preached on Nehemiah i. verse 4, who, upon just occasion, in opening the story of the Jewish pres-
sures and calamities which caused Nehemiah to fast,

* *Diary of John Rous* (Camden Society), p. 99.

† *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, vol. viii. p. 184.

‡ *Diary of John Rous*, p. 103.

&c., did say that the care of the Jews to have Jerusalem rebuilded in her walls and the gates set up, *was not to mainteine rebellion and keepe out the King's authority*, but to defend themselves against Tobiah, Sanballah, and such great men as under the King (whom they flattered with lies) sought to oppresse them." Vigorous preaching that! and going straight to the mark.

In 1642 "a design was now forming in the Parliament for lopping the revenues of the Church, and suppressing the Deaneries and Chapters." Dr. John Hacket, prebendary of S. Paul's and archdeacon of Bedford, was selected by the Clergy to plead their cause before the House of Commons. The heads of his speech may be read in Collier.* He commenced with a brief apology; he was straitened in time—the busines had been put upon him only the afternoon before—the objections to be offered against the Cathedral bodies had not been submitted to him. He defended the public prayers of the Church, and showed the benefit of preaching in Cathedrals, on weekdays as well as on Sundays—which indeed had been the custom ever since the Reformation, in accordance with the Statutes of these mother Churches. Each Cathedral was a fort of university in little and a school of learning; he offered to produce, in proof, a list of learned dignitaries; the very thought of the suppression of Cathedrals had "struck a damp into the book-sellers' busines." The buildings themselves were the

* *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, viii. p. 207.

most ancient monuments of Christianity in the country. Many thousands of persons depended on these grand institutions for their sustenance. The Deans and Canons had been liberal landlords—the tenants affirmed this with consentient voice. The English laity lived in plenty, why should the clergy be made, like Jeroboam's priests, the “lowest of the people?” The Papists would be delighted by the overthrow. And, above all, he warned his audience against the sin of spoliation—“Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?” Withdraw the encouragements of learning, and ignorance would reign: ignorance would carry us to profaneness and confusion.

The speech was eloquent and forcible, and “handsomely delivered,” and had the question been immediately put to the vote, it was thought that the Clergy would have had a majority of one hundred and twenty. In the afternoon, Dr. Cornelius Burges pleaded the cause of the Puritan party, and delivered a violent invective against the Deans and Chapters. If his speech is rightly reported, he would have cast out the clergy but retained the endowments. Dr. Burges' services were not forgotten; in due time he swept into his purse some of the money which was confiscated.

Bishop after Bishop was impeached. It was seriously proposed, though it must be added that the bill was thrown out, “that every bishop, being in his diocese, and not disabled by ill health, should preach every Sunday, or pay five pounds to the poor, to be

levied by the next justice of peace, and distress made by the constable.”* So that the constable and the justice would have been the bishop’s metropolitans. Archbishop Williams, of York, is credited with this absurdity.

On September 10th and 11th, 1642, a bill was passed for the abolition of Bishops, Deans, and Chapters :† and its effect was soon felt at S. Paul’s. A letter from Stephen Charlton to Sir Richard Leveson,‡ 25th October, 1642, speaks of an “Order by Parliament yesterday that Paul’s shall be kept shut, and that all trades shall shut up their shops for a small time, and all prisoners that are in Tower or Gate House shall be kept close prisoners.”

A few days later, 1st November, 1642, the Dean and Chapter petition the House of Lords upon the subject.§ “The Lord Mayor, alleging an Order in that behalf from their Lordships, has shut up the doors of the Church and taken the keys into his custody; by which many well-affected persons cannot enjoy the frequent use of prayer, and some cannot bury their deceased friends by their ancestors as they desire. They pray that the Church may be again opened for these purposes.”

Even so late as 1660 the relations between the Cathedral and the City appear to have been of by no

* Collier, viii. p. 214.

† Dugdale, *S. Paul's*, p. 109.

‡ Duke of Sutherland’s MSS., *Historical MSS. Commission*, v. p. 161, a.

§ House of Lords’ Calendar, *ibid.*, v. p. 56, a.

means a too friendly character. Mr. Edward Gower writing to Sir R. Leveson says (the date of the letter is, probably, November 22nd), "This Lord Mayor of London is troublesome to the Clergy of the old stamp. The Bishop sent to him that the Church might be fitted decently, and he would provide ministers to preach there. His answer was, that he would make no provision for any of the singing-men, and when he saw the names of those he [the Bishop of London] intended for Preachers, if he liked them they should have admittance."* The Bishop was Gilbert Sheldon, who had been elected to the see of London 23rd October, and consecrated at Westminster on the 28th of the same month: and who on the death of Archbishop Juxon was translated to Canterbury. The Lord Mayor was Sir Thomas Alleyne. His claim to revise the list of preachers appointed by the Bishop seems sufficiently preposterous.

The high-handed dealing of Parliament with the Cathedrals soon made itself felt in the infliction of great suffering and distress upon the Clergy and upon the Officers attached to these time-honoured sanctuaries. On August 9th, 1644, a Petition was presented to the Lords and Commons by the Minor Canons, Vicars Choral, and other officers of S. Paul's. It states that the Petitioners "having spent their days in the performance of the duties and offices of the Church, are unfit for other ways of procuring their livelihood, and, the rents and revenues of the Church

* Duke of Sutherland's MSS., *Historical MSS. Commission*, v. p. 200, b.

being sequestered, they are likely to be utterly impoverished." They pray "that they may enjoy during their lives all the rents and dues which they formerly had from the Dean and Chapter." The Petition was referred to the Committee for Sequestrations.*

On April 26th, 1645, the workmen lately employed upon the repairs of S. Paul's send in *their* Petition. Divers sums of money are due to them; they are ready to perish for want. They pray that some scaffolding stuff and other materials belonging to the Church, "which, as the work goes not forward, will decay and be lost, may be sold for their benefit."† The workmen, naturally enough, were not slow to learn the lessons of confiscation and of sacrilege.

At the end of the *Interregnum* only one Minor Canon, fully admitted as a Member of that ancient College, could be found; two others had been admitted as Probationers. When Dean Barwick undertook the "difficult charge" of the Deanery, his first care was "what it had also been at Durham, to restore the Celebration of Divine Service by the sacred Music of a Choir." One minor Canon only remained at S. Paul's; and he, it would seem, must have been intruded into the office during Puritan times, for there was no evidence that he had ever been admitted into Priests' Orders, "which, yet by the Statutes, all the Canons of this Church were obliged to be." He proved to be a worthy disciple of Dr. Burges, for he laid claim to the

* House of Lords' Calendar, *Historical MSS. Commission*, vi. p. 22, a.

† *Ibid.*, vi. p. 56, a.

whole revenues of the College of the Minor Canons, and had bought at a nominal rate, during the Troubles, some of the sequestered property of the College for his own use.*

The trials and misfortunes of the Cathedral Clergy are briefly related by John Walker in his *Sufferings of the Clergy* :† the phrases which he uses in describing the hardships endured by Bryan Walton, Prebendary of Twyford, "assaulted, sequestered from his living, Plundered, Forced to fly, Barbarously used, grievously Harrassed," will apply to many more. Walton was one of the most learned men of the day.‡ The Cathedral Library possesses a magnificent *Large Paper* copy of his *Polyglot Bible*, most sumptuously bound, a worthy monument of his labours. But learning was out of fashion. The greedy Cornelius Burges found favour, and Bryan Walton was ejected from S. Paul's.

On May 10th, 1645, Parliament passed an Ordinance§ enabling the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen to seize and sequester into their hands all the Houses, Rents, and Revenues, of the Dean, Canons, and other officers of S. Paul's Cathedral. Dr. Burges also receives his reward : the house in which the Dean had lived, the old Deanery, is assigned to him as a residence ; he is appointed "publike Lecturer in the Church of Paul's, London" (it is *Saint* Paul's no longer) ; and "for his incouragement therein" there is

* *Life of Dean Barwick*, 8vo., London, 1724, pp. 311-316.

† Folio, London, 1714, pp. 47-54.

‡ After the Restoration he was made Bishop of Chester.

§ Dugdale, pp. 415-417.

granted to him the sum of £400 per annum. Very good pickings, Dr. Burges! You were wise in suggesting that the endowments should not be alienated : wise, that is, in your generation. Professor Brewer, in his notes to quaint old Fuller,* aims at you a shaft which pierces through your harness, when he says that you were "A railer against bishops, afterwards a purchaser of bishop's lands." He was, in fact, so large a purchaser of these lands that, a little before the Restoration, he was offered and declined to take £20,000 for what he had acquired. (What a convenient word "acquired" is!) After the Restoration he was compelled to disgorge his plunder ; he was reduced, he says, to want a piece of bread. He died in obscurity in 1665, the anguish of his distress augmented by a terrible disease. Dr. Hacket's warnings were not in vain.

On March 13th, 1640, three noble Lords were in a boat upon the Thames; Robert Greville, Lord Brooke, was in their company ; they were on their way to dine with Lord Herbert at his new house at Fox Hall. As they were passing S. Paul's, the conversation naturally turned upon the commitment of Laud. One of the company said, that he was sorry for it, "because the building of S. Paul's went slow on therewhile." Lord Brooke replied, "I hope some of us shall live to see no one stone left upon another of that building." A note of the occurrence is found in Laud's *Diary*. Two years afterwards, on March 2nd, 1642, Laud opens his *Diary* again, and this is his entry : "Thursday, S. Cedd's day. The Lord Brooke

* *Church History*, vi., pp. 188, 203, notes.

shot in the left eye, and killed in the place, at Lichfield, going to give the onset upon the Close of the Church, he having ever been fierce against Bishops and Cathedrals: his beaver up, and armed to the knees, so that a musket at that distance could have done him but little harm. Thus was his eye put out, who about two years since said, he hoped to live to see at S. Paul's not one stone left upon another."* The comment is Archbishop Laud's. The eloquent Dr. South makes very forcible use of the incident, and adds some details. He speaks "of a commander in the parliament's rebel army, who, coming to rifle and deface the Cathedral at Lichfield, solemnly at the head of his troops begged of God to show some remarkable token of His approbation or dislike of the work they were going about. Immediately after which, looking out at a window, he was shot in the forehead by a deaf and dumb man. And this was on S. Chad's day, the name of which Saint that Church bore, being dedicated to God in memory of the same. Where we see, that as he asked of God a sign, so God gave him one, signing him in the forehead, and that with such a mark as he is like to be known by to all posterity. There is nothing that the united voice of all history proclaims so loud as the certain unfailing curse that has pursued and overtook sacrilege."†

The House of Commons was by no means inattentive to S. Paul's Cathedral. On January 2nd, 1642-3,

* *The Diary of the Life of Archbishop Laud*, Works, iii. pp. 241, 249.

† South, *Sermons*, edit., London 1859, i. p. 55.

they resolve "that my Lord Petre's House in Alder-gate Street, and the Dean of Paules his House near Paules, shall be appointed Prisons to receive the Prisoners that are coming from Chichester, and," (ominous addition!) "such other prisoners as the Houses shall appoint: and that Mr. White be appointed Keeper of my Lord Peter's House, and Mr. Dillingham, Keeper of the Dean of Paules his House." The Deanery, in which such men as Colet, Nowell, Overall, and Donne, had lived is turned into a Prison.

In the Journal of the House of Lords, 5th January, 1642-3, are three draft Orders directing that Lord Petre's house in Alder-gate, and the Bishop of London's Palace near S. Paul's, and "Lambeth House," should be used as Prisons. Two days later we find in the records of the House of Lords a *List of the Prisoners in Lambeth House*.*

What remained of the treasures of the Cathedral also engages the very earnest attention of the House. They resolve on April 17th, 1644, "that the Chest, or Silver Vessel, in Paul's, shall be sold for the best advantage, and employed towards the providing of necessaries for the Train of Artillery, by the Committee at Grocers Hall." Seven days later, it is ordered, "that the materials informed of by Sir Robert Harley, be forthwith sold by Sir Robert Harley, viz., the Mitre and Crozier-staff found in Paul's Church London; and the brass and iron in Hen. VII. Chapel in Westminster; and the proceed thereof (the necessary charges

* House of Lords' Calendar, *Historical MSS. Commission*, v. p. 67, a.

deducted) be employed according to the direction of this House."*

Were any of these treasures ever restored? One or two, "rari nantes in gurgite vasto," found their way back. The Calendars of State Papers (Chas. II., vol. 109) preserve a Report by one Mr. Garret in 1664, "that Carey, late Verger of S. Paul's says that Alderman Pack of Blackwell Hall, or Mr. Jermyn the City Carpenter in Little Moorfields, can discover the Will of Hen. VII. with seals affixed in silver boxes; also a Chalice, Crosier-Staff and other things formerly belonging to S. Paul's, in which Warner a verger may assist." The (so called) Will of Henry VII., sumptuously bound in velvet, with bosses glowing with enamel, is now in the Cathedral Library: but the Chalice, and the Crosier-Staff, where are they?

The floodgates were opened and the waters rapidly spread. All repairs at the Cathedral ceased. It had been the desire of Laud's heart to see it restored to its pristine grandeur. Amongst the "Things which I have projected to do, if God bless me in them," the Archbishop writes, fifth in order, "to set upon the repair of S. Paul's Church in London." All kinds of encroachments had been allowed about the Cathedral. A temporary house had been built up against the West end of it for the purposes of a lottery: and after the lottery ended, was "finished up into a dwelling house to the great annoyance of that church; the Bishops, and Dean, and Chapter being asleep while it was done." Laud boldly and resolutely charges them with

* Dugdale, p. 110.

their supineness, and with increasing their rents by a sacrilegious revenue. His own love for the Cathedral showed itself not merely in words but in liberal gifts. He was able to say at his trial, that his personal outlay upon S. Paul's had cost him "above one thousand and two hundred pounds" out of his own purse. He remembered the work even in the time of his imprisonment, and left a legacy, "a blessing," as he phrases it, "of £800," to be truly paid in for that work "if ever it go on while the party trusted with it lives."*

The works at the Cathedral were suspended. Some part of the materials gathered together were given by Parliament in 1645 to the Parishioners of S. Gregory's to rebuild their Church, which had been pulled down because it was thought to be an eyesore to the Cathedral.† The vast scaffoldings which had been erected for the repair of the tower and the adjacent parts, were assigned to Colonel Jephson's regiment, for £1746 15s. 8d. due thereunto from the said Parliament, and in arrear. The *Calendars of State Papers* show how interesting were the questions which arose about these same scaffoldings.‡ Dugdale says that pits were dug in the Church itself, even where the bones of reverend bishops lay, as sawpits to cut up the great timbers.§ The body of the church was frequently converted into horsequarters for soldiers. Part of the Choir, the eastern part, was shut off by a partition wall, and made into a preaching place for Dr.

* *Works of Archbishop Laud*, iii. p. 253; iv. pp. 92, 96.

† Dugdale, p. 110.

‡ See *Documents*, liii., liv.

§ Dugdale, p. 110.

Burges: an entrance being made to it, through the uppermost window on the north side, eastwards.

On December 18th, 1648, good John Evelyn makes this entry in his *Diary*,* "Since my last, soldiers have marched into the City. . . They have garrisoned Blackfriars (which likewise they have fortified with artillery); Paul's Church, which with London House they have made stables for their horses, making plentiful fires with the seats." It appears from Dugdale that the Choir Stalls and the Organ-loft were about this time totally destroyed.

The City authorities had neglected to pay their assessments to the army, wherefore General Fairfax sent Colonel Dean with some troops into the City, on Friday, December 8th, 1648, to seize the treasures of the Goldsmiths', Haberdashers', and Weavers' Companies. The two former Companies had removed their wealth, but at the Weavers' a rich booty of £35,000 was seized and carried off. The Lord Mayor was warned that the troops would be quartered upon the citizens till all the arrears were paid. "So for the present His Forces Quarter upon the Citizens, keeping strong Guards in *London House, Creed Church, Ludgate Church*, and all the *Gates* of the *City*: And that *sacred Temple* dedicated to *S. Paul* and heretofore set apart and kept in all possible *decency* for the *service* and *worship* of *God*, they have now converted into a most filthy *Stable*, and filled it with Hay and Horses, &c., so that of a *House of Prayer* it is become a *Den of Thieves*." So says the secretly printed Royalist paper

* Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence*, iii. p. 33, edit. 1863.

the *Mercurius Eleucticus*.* A few weeks later,† a still more suggestive passage occurs : "The Saints in *Pauls* were the last weeke teaching their Horses to ride up the *great Steps*, that lead into the *Quire*, where (as they derided) they might perhaps learne to *Chaunt* an *Antheme* : but one of them fell, and broke both his *Leg* and the *Neck* of his Rider, which hath spoiled his *Chaunting*, for he was buried on *Saturday* night last. A just *Judgement* of God on such a prophane and *Sacrilegious* wretch." One can hardly wonder at the writer's strong language: he was contemporary, possibly an eye-witness, and in such times men are not over-nice in their phrases.

In the *Rump Songs* are some references to these profanities. In a composition, it can hardly be called a poem, entitled *The Publique Faith*, the writer says:

" *Paul's* shall be opened then, and you conspire
No more against the Organs in the *Quire*,
Nor threat the Saints i' th' Windows, nor repair
In Troops to kill the Book of Common Prayer :
Nor drunk with Zeal, endeavour to engroffe
To your own use, the stones of Cheapside Croffe."

The same volume is eloquent as to the misdeeds of Sir Isaac Pennington the then Lord Mayor, and contains the following lampoon :

" 1643.

A Bill on St. Paul's Church Door.

This House is to be let,
It is both wide, and fair ;
If you would know the price of it,
Pray ask of M^r. Maior.

Isaac Pennington.

* No. 55, Dec. 12, 1648.

† No. 59, Jan. 9, 1649.

And a Ballad contained in the same volume, says :

"Then S^t. *Paul's* the Mother-Church of this City and Nation,
Was turn'd to a Stable, O strange Profanation!
Yet this was one of their best fruits of Reformation,
Which no body can deny."

The work of desecration continued ; the stately Portico with its beautiful Corinthian pillars—a structure fair and exquisitely proportioned, though most inappropriately annexed to a Norman Nave—was "converted to shops for seamstresses and other trades, with lofts and stairs ascending thereto ; for the fitting whereof to that purpose those stately pillars were shamefully hewed and defaced for support of the timber work."*

There is a strange story, hardly worth repetition, that Cromwell desired and proposed to sell the useless building to the Jews. D'Blossiers Tovey, in his *Anglia Judaica*, states very plainly that "as soon as King Charles was murther'd, the Jews Petition'd the Council of War to endeavour a Repeal of that Act of Parliament which had been made against them ; promising, in Return, to make them a present of *five hundred thousand Pounds* : Provided that they cou'd likewise procure the Cathedral of St. *Paul* to be assigned them for a *Synagogue*, and the *Bodleian Library* at *Oxford*, to begin their Traffick with. Which Piece of Service, it seems, was undertaken by those *Honest Men*, at the Solicitation of *Hugh Peters*, and *Harry Marten*, whom the *Jews* employ'd as their Brokers : but without any success."† Robert Monteith, of Salmonet,‡ adds

* Dugdale, p. 115. † *Anglia Judaica*, pp. 259, 260.

‡ *History of Great Britain*, folio, London, 1735, p. 473.

some further details, stating that the Jews "offer'd five hundred thousand Pounds, but the Council of War would have eight." These statements have a very circumstantial air about them, and the mention of names and figures gives them the look of history : but a tolerably careful search has failed to discover any corroborative evidence. There is, indeed, in the Record Office, a copy of a *Remonstrance* addressed to Charles II., in which the writer says, that the Jews "(as countenanced by the said late Usurper), endeavoured in his time (as frequently it was reported) to buy the famous Cathedral Church of Pauls to have made y^m a Synagogue, as alsoe your most renowned Court of Whitehall for some Imployment."* But the *Remonstrance* is anonymous, it is undated, and if nothing more can be said for the story than "as frequently it was reported," the fable had better be consigned to the historian's waste-paper basket. If the Cathedral had ever been offered for sale, very possibly some

"Jews from S. Mary Axe, for jobs so wary
That for old clothes they'd even axe S. Mary,"†

might have been found amongst the bidders ; but it can hardly be said by the most earnest hater of Cromwell that there is a particle of real evidence in favour of the story.

The soldiers lodged in the City were not, as we have already seen, always very easily managed. Carlyle, in his *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* ‡ tells a

* See *Documents*, pp. lxiii., lxiv.

† *The Rejected Addresses*.

‡ Vol. ii. pp. 121, 122, five volume edition.

characteristic story, and tells it in his own inimitable fashion. "This night," Thursday, April 26th, 1649, "at the Bull in Bishopsgate, there has an alarming mutiny broken out in a troop of Whalley's regiment there. Whalley's men are not allotted for Ireland; but they refuse to quit London, as they are ordered; they want this and that first: they seize their Colours from the Cornet, who is lodged at the Bull there:—the General and the Lieutenant-General have to hasten thither; quell them, pack them forth on their march; seizing fifteen of them first, to be tried by Court-Martial. Tried by instant Court-Martial, five of them are found guilty, doomed to die, but pardoned; and one of them, Trooper Lockyer, is doomed and not pardoned. Trooper Lockyer is shot, in Paul's Churchyard, on the morrow. A very brave young man, they say; though but three-and-twenty, 'he has served seven years in these Wars,' ever since the wars began. 'Religious' too, 'of excellent parts and much beloved'; but with hot notions as to human Freedom, and the rate at which the Milleniums are attainable, poor Lockyer! He falls shot in Paul's Churchyard on Friday, amid the tears of men and women. Paul's Cathedral, we remark, is now a Horse-guard; horses stamp in the Canons' stalls there: and Paul's Croſſ itself, as smacking of Popery, where in fact Alablaſter once preached flat Popery, is ſwept altogether away, and its leaden roof melted into bullets, or mixed with tin for culinariy pewter. Lockyer's corſe is watched and wept over, not without prayer, in the eastern regions of the City, till a new week come." His funeral takes place on Monday.

On May 30th, 1649, says Evelyn,* "Unkingship was proclaimed, and his Majesty's statues thrown down at S. Paul's Portico and the Exchange."

We soon hear again of the foldiers quartered in S. Paul's Churchyard, for in May, 1651, a Proclamation was issued to regulate their conduct. As it is very brief and at the same time instructive, it may well be transcribed *in extenso*.

"May 27, 1651.

"For as much as the Inhabitants of Paul's Church-yard are much disturbed by the souldiers and others, calling out to passingers, and examining them (though they goe peaceably and civilly along) and by playing at nine pinnes at unseasonable houres ; these are therefore to command all Souldeirs and others whom it may concerne, that hereafter there shall be no examining and calling out to persons that goe peaceably on their way, unlesse they doe approach their Gaurds, and likewise to forbear playing at nine pinnes and other sports, from the houre of nine of the clocke in the evening, till six in the morning, that so persons that are weake and indisposed to rest, may not be disturbed. Given under our hands the day and yeare above written.

"John Barkestead,
"Benjamin Blundill."

The original of this Proclamation is preserved in the British Museum.† The reader may obtain from it a

* *Diary*, ii. p. 5.

† *Documents*, p. 150.

glimpse of the liberty which the "Inhabitants of Paul's Churchyard" were at this time enjoying. Turbulent and ill-disciplined soldiers pursued their sports and pastimes under the venerable walls of the Cathedral, and alarmed peaceable citizens by their rude challenges and examinations.

In 1653, on June 18th, the Council of State made an Order, upon the reading of the Petition of Captain Chillendon, "That the Chappell, on the East side of the North end of Pauls commonly called the Stone Chappell," (the proper name was S. George's Chapel, but S. George was out of fashion, and England was no longer merry) "be allowed to the congregation whereof Captaine Chillendon is a Member, wherein they are to meet without interruption for the exerciseing of religious duties."* This appropriation, however, of one of the Chapels did not pass unchallenged. On Sunday, October 16th, a tumult "hapned in Pauls, upon occasion of the meeting of a congregation in the Stone Chappell in the said Church and their exerciseing there." Colonel Mountagu, Colonel Bennet, and Mr. Broughton, or any two of them, are appointed a Committee to enquire into this matter; and particularly to examine what was the "Carriage of the Officers of the City," as well as of the congregation and of those who made the tumult. The latter were to be committed to the custody of my Lord Mayor.†

Dr. Burges being settled in the eastern part of the Choir, and Captain Chillendon's congregation being quartered in S. George's Chapel, it might have been thought that the dominant party would have rested

* *Documents*, p. 151.

† *Ibid.*, p. 152.

satisfied. More was, however, to be done. The Council of State met on Thursday, September 24th, 1657. "His Highness" himself is present, with General "Disbrowe," and others. There is another congregation, "whereof Mr. John Simpson is Teacher," and these have no "local habitation." No place will suit them but S. Paul's. There is a piece of waste ground at the West end of Paul's now vested in the Trustees for Bishops' lands: it is ordered that Colonel Webb, Surveyor-General for the said Lands, do cause the said ground, "or any other place of Pawles fitt" for such a use, to be "forthwith surveyed, and the Survey thereof to bee returned to the Councell." Colonel Webb sends in a Report on November 12th. He does not recommend the use of the waste ground at the West end of Paul's; but "upon perrusal of severall unoccupied places about Pawles," he has seen the "parcell of grownd whereon yet standeth the Ruines of the Howse commonly called the Convocation howse, and of The Cloysters thereto adjoyning." He thinks that this is the "most privatest and convenientest place to bee fitted and set apart to the use aforesayd." The Chapter House, fair and beautiful as it once was, had not been rebuilt since the destructive fire of 1561. The roof and floor had fallen to the ground, the windows were broken, "the iron and leade imbeziled," the whole building "exceeding ruinous and very dangerous." This is the place for the "Congregation that wallke with Mr. John Symfon." Colonel Webb supplies a plan of the Cloisters and Chapter House.* The Council of State

* *Documents*, pp. 153-155, where a copy of the Plan may be seen.

are of the same opinion, and a Committee is appointed to see that the matter be carried to an end.

The Chapter House and the Upper and Lower Cloisters had been allowed to become receptacles for building materials. Boards of elm and deal, wainscot, fir poles, large quantities of lead and iron, thousands of quarries of glass, were stored here in 1644 :* as an original paper in the Dyce and Forster Reading Room at the South Kensington Museum, containing an Inventory of these materials, abundantly proves.

The words of worthy Thomas Fuller, written probably about the year 1662, should be studied by all who would understand the wretched condition to which the once stately Church of S. Paul had been reduced :

"This is the only Cathedral in Christendom dedicated solely to that saint. Great the pillars (little legs will bow under so big a body), and small the windows thereof: darkness in those days being conceived to raise devotion; besides, it made artificial lights to appear with the more solemnity. It may be called the Mother Church indeed, having one babe in her body, S. Faith's, and another in her arms, S. Gregory's. Surely such who repair to divine service in S. Faith may there be well minded of their mortality, being living people, surrounded with the antiperistasis of the dead both above and beneath them. For the present I behold S. Paul's Church as one struck with the dead palsy on one side, the east part and quoir thereof being quick and alive, well maintained and repaired,

* *Documents*, pp. 142-145.

whilst the west part is ruinous and ready to fall down. Little hopes it will be repaired in its old decays, which is decayed in its new reparations, and being formerly an ornament, is now an eye sore to the city: not to say unto the citizens in general, some being offended that it is in so bad, and others that it is in no worse, condition.

"The repairing of this church was a worthy monument of the piety and charity of Archbishop Laud; not only procuring the bounty of others, but expending his own estate thereon. We despair not but that his majesty's zeal, in commanding this work to their care, will in due time meet with the forward bounty of the citizens. It is no sin to wish, that those who have plundered the cloak and cover of S. Paul's (not left behind *by*, but) violently taken *from* him, might be compelled to make him a new one of their own cost; at leastwise to contribute more than ordinary proportions thereunto."* We may echo Dryden's words, when speaking of the disastrous fire of 1666, he says :

"The daring flames peep'd in, and saw from far
 The awful beauties of the sacred Quire:
But since it was profaned by Civil War,
 Heaven thought it fit to have it purged by Fire."†

It cannot be denied, however sad may be the confession, that the appointed guardians of the Cathedral had, long before Cromwell's days, grievously neglected

* Fuller, *Worthies of England*, vol. ii. pp. 335, 336, edit. 8vo., London, 1840.

† Dryden, *Annus Mirabilis*, verse 276.

their sacred trust. The Manuscript Returns at Bishop Bancroft's Visitation in 1598,* still preserved in the Cathedral Record Room, are very melancholy reading. The services were, in all probability, said at the appointed times, but the evidences of neglect and carelessness are everywhere visible. The Choristers spent their time in talk and in hunting after spur-money, even in service time; "the hallowinge and hootinge above in the steple is intollorable at dyvers tymes;" people walked about in the upper Choir, where the Communion Table doth stand, with their hats on their heads, commonly, all the service time, no man reprob ing them; the Organs were so misused in the blowing, and other ways with jogging the bellows, that the bellows were broken; S. Dunstan's Chapel was made a storehouse for glafs, and the glass was brought in even during service time; the wheels of cars set against the steps of the South door had so broken the steps "that manye men and women have had shrewde fawles dyvers tymes;" the sweepings of the church lay in it three and four weeks together till the smell became "very noysom;" the bell-ringers admitted persons into the Organ-loft for money, to the decay of the instrument, the pipes being many of them under foot, to the hazarding of the people underneath; the choir men came late to prayers, "which causeth the service to continue beyonde his howre, or maketh them vnreverently to knitt yt vp;" they were irreverent in their behaviour, and did "vse greate vndecencye in

* A selection from these will be found in the *Statuta S. Pauli*, pp. 272-280.

prayer time, as leaninge vpon theyr elbowes, sleepinge, talkinge, and such lyke to the scandale of the Church ;” the Chapels below the steps were much unglazed ; in S. George’s Chapel lay old stones and a ladder ; in Long Chapel old fir poles and other old lumber ; vaults under the Church were let to a Carpenter, others to stationers ; houfes and shops blocked up the windows of some of the Chapels ; the Shrouds, and Cloisters under the Convocation House were let out to Trunk Makers, and “by meanes of their daily knocking and noyse the Church is greatly disturbed ;” certain Tenants had excavated the very buttresses of the Church “whereby the foundation is greatly indaungered by making of cellers.” It is a long and wearisome indictment : long as it is, it might easily be extended. Would that it were not so. But let the reader ponder well the following notices of Salisbury, Worcester, and Canterbury.

In *A Remembrance for the Church of Sarum in very many and necessary particulars* appended to the papers relating to Archbishop Laud’s Visitation, is a very sad picture of the negligent attendance at the Cathedral Services which had grown up, apparently unchecked :

“Of 760 canonickall howers *per ann:*, they are not 60 in the Church ; of these 60, not 30 at second lesson ; of these 30, not 10 at the confession, no not at communions. For this, though wee have expresse statute agaynst it, and pænaltye, yett wee plead custome, and challenge and receyve commons. According to this neglect, our quyre and church seruice is vtterly destitute and naked of all cathedral ornaments, I might

say robbed, for about 40 yeares agone, they were folde and fowly."

What wonder if the laity cared little for the Cathedral Services, if the Clergy at Salisbury were so remiss in attending, and so slovenly and idle when they did attend. No marvel that a day of sharp retribution came. Laud did what man could do to revive the dying embers of religion.*

Dr. Christopher Potter, writing to Archbishop Laud, 18th November, 1639, thus describes the condition of affairs at Worcester :

"On Sunday mornings, before Sermon, during the Choral Service, some walked and talked in the Nave, others gathered their auditors about them in the seats and read to them some English divinity, so loudly as that the singers in the Choir were much disturbed by them : all despising that service."†

In 1634, the like account is sent to Archbishop Laud from Canterbury :

"Men both of ye better & meaner sort, mechanicks, youths, & prentises do ordinarily & most vnreverently walk in our church in ye tyme of devine service, & wthin hearinge of ye same, wth their hattes on their heads. I haue seene them from my seate (& not seldome) so walkinge or standinge still, & lookinge in vpon vs, when we haue byn on our knees, at ye Letany

* *Historical MSS. Commission, Fourth Report*, p. 131.

† *Calendars, Domestic, 1639-40*, p. 106, edited by Mr. W. D. Hamilton.

& ye comandm^{ts}. I earnestly & humbly desire some effectuall course may [be] taken for redresse. As also for ye ordinarie trudginge vp & downe of youths, & clamours of children, to ye greate disturbance of ye preachers in their sermons. The vergerers & other officers haue had a charge to look to this; but to little or no purpose. Dr. Barston, Dr. Hinchman, & myself haue byn fayne to ryse, & goe out of our seates to see & stay ye disorders. But I never (to my vttermost remembrance) sawe Barfoot ye vergerer (who sits in my sight) to ryse at ye greatest noyse.

“ By mee, JOHN LEE.”*

Alas, we need not end even here. Many another grand Cathedral had the same sad tale to tell: the same wearisome story of pluralities and non-residence; of overwhelming greediness and self-seeking; of rampant nepotism; of desecrated Naves, and of deserted Choirs; of dignitaries receiving great revenues, and rendering no service in return; of cold hearts. The way was paved for still greater desecrations, and they came. Horses neighed in the Canons' Stalls: and Dr. Cornelius Burges, with his twenty thousand pounds of plunder, preached in the ruined Choir.

We may not conclude with words of sadness. Nor is there need. The renewed life of Cathedrals is one of the most striking features of the great Religious

* *House of Lords' Calendar, Historical MSS. Commission,* vol. iv. p. 135 b.

Revival of our day. S. Paul's has abundantly shared in that regeneration. Let the largely attended daily services, the crowded Sunday services, the daily celebration of the Holy Eucharist, be witnesses of the throbbing life that beats in the great heart of the old Sanctuary. And let the reverent thousands gathered in its vast dome area, its long-drawn Nave, its spacious Transepts, filling every part, silent, listening eagerly last Dedication Festival to the grand music of Mendelssohn's *S. Paul*, remind us that the Cathedral is something more than a "petrifaction of religion."

May GOD prosper its work a thousand fold !



N O T E S.



NOTE S.

Note to Page 21.

The original words of the *sequence* here rendered into English, are these :

Erkenwalde, Christi lampas aurea,
Tua sancta prece nostra dele facinora,
Quatenus te collodantes stellata
Gratulari tecum poscimus in palacia,
Ubi nova Domino reboantes cantica
Confona voce jubilemus Alleluja.

Note to page 116.

In a Report by Inigo Jones upon the repairs of S. Gregory's Church, which adjoined S. Paul's, he says that the Church is "in no way hurtful to the foundation or walls of S. Paul's, nor will it take away the beauty of the aspect when it shall be repaired. It abuts on the Lollards' Tower, which is answered on the other side by another Tower unto which the Bishop's Hall adjoins. Conceives that neither of them is any hindrance to the beauty of the Church." The Report is dated 14th June, 1631. (*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 193.) This passage would seem to indicate that Inigo Jones would not be likely to make any great alterations in the Towers.

Note to page 142.

By Mr. Chappell's kind permission, I am able to present to my readers the tune called *Paul's Steeple* in modern notation. It is here reprinted from his most interesting work, *Popular Music of the Olden Times*, vol. i. p. 120. The Irish *Cruiskeen Lawn*, and the Scotch *John Anderson my Jo*, are modifications of this ancient English tune.

PAUL'S STEEPLE.

Rather slow.

The musical score consists of four staves of music for two voices. The top staff is in G clef, 2/4 time, and has a key signature of one flat. The bottom staff is in C clef, 2/4 time, and has a key signature of one flat. The music is divided into measures by vertical bar lines. The notation includes various note values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The first measure shows a melodic line in the upper voice and harmonic support in the lower voice. The second measure continues this pattern. The third measure introduces a new harmonic progression with a change in bass line. The fourth measure concludes the section. The overall style is characteristic of early printed music, with clear staff lines and standard musical symbols.

W. CHAPPELL, *Popular Music of the Olden Times*, vol. i. p. 120.

In a scarce book called *The Dancing Master*, "printed for John Playford at his shop in the Inner Temple, near the Church Door," in 1652, we find that the tune *Paul's Steeple* was used as a Country Dance Tune. The figures of the Dance are here given :*

Paul's Steeple. *Longwayes for as many as will.* ♂ ♀ ○ ○ ○

Lead up all a D. forward and back, set and turn S. — That again —

First man take his Wo. in his left hand, lead her down to the 2. Wo. take the 2. Wo. in his right, and slip up with them into the first place, cast off the 2. Wo. and then his own, and turn off into his place —. This forward to all the We. —

Sides all and turn S. — That again —

First man take his Wo. in his left hand, lead her down to the 2. Wo. take the 2. Wo. in his right hand, and slide up with them, kisse the 2. Wo. hand then with your own Wo. hand and let them go, turning off into your place —. This forward to the rest —

Arms, set and turn S. — That again —

First man take his Wo. in his left hand, lead her down to the 2. Wo. take the 2. Wo. in your right hand, and setting them back to back in the middle, kisse the 2. then your own Wo. turning off into your places, this forward to the rest.

Note to page 145.

No mention has been made in the text of a Fire in the Cathedral which threatened to assume somewhat dangerous proportions. It occurred on 27th February, 1698-99, according to a rare (if not unique) *Broadside*, preserved in the Library of Lambeth Palace, and printed in my *Documents etc.*, pp. 158-60. The continuator of *Stow* gives the same date : and says, that "a fire broke out at the West end of the North isle of the Choir, in a little room prepared for the Organ-builder to work in when the Choir was newly finished ; but, the communication between the said work-room and organ-gallery being broke down, and all imaginable means used, the fire was happily got under, doing no other damage but to two pillars and an arch with enrichments, which are very artificially repaired, and the Church has no sign left of damage by that fire, except that the lustre of the gilding was thereby a little abated."†

* The signs used are explained *infra*, p. 294.

† *Strype's Stow*, vol. i. p. 649.

There is a somewhat important manuscript in the Library at Lambeth,* which dates this fire exactly ten years earlier. The Book is entitled "An Acco^t. of Rebuilding the Cathedral Church of S^t. Paul's, London, from Sept. 1666 (when the Old Church was destroyed by the dreadful fire) to 29th Sept^r, 1700." I am not aware that the following details have ever been printed :

" Note, No. 98. That fire happen'd 27 Feb. 168^½ and supposed to be by the carelessness of ...† Smith the Organ-maker.

" To the Charge of the repair specified may be added the Scaffolding for it, & the wages to Labourers employ'd about it, but both these being intermixt with other matters, a computation cannot well be made.

" Repairing y^e damage by y^e fire, which happen'd at y^e West end of y^e North Isle of y^e Choir.

Gratuitys to Sev ^{ll} . persons who affisted to extinguish the fire	11	15	6
Links, Candles, repairing borrowed Buckets, & expences in drink	6	6	8
Wine	2	1	6
			—
			20 3 8
Mafon Rawlin			
For cutting out burnt stone	19	7	6
New work by day	44	8	9
D ^o by agreem ^t including the Carving	599	6	9
			—
			663 3 0
2 Tuns of Plaster of Paris.	5	7	6
Sundry Carpenters, Mafons, and Labourers	9	14	6
Iron Cramps	12	4	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
			—
			27 6 0 $\frac{1}{4}$
			—
			710 12 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ "

It is clear from these figures that the damage done by the fire was by no means inconsiderable. If we are to choose between the date given by Bateman's manuscript, and that given by

* Lambeth Manuscripts, No. 670.

† That is, of Bernard Smith, usually called Father Smith.

Strype's *Stow* and the *Broadside* and in Elmes' *Life of Wren*, I incline towards the latter three authorities. They agree in stating that the fire occurred on 27th February, 1698-99.

Note to page 152.

John Chamberlain, in one of his Letters to Dudley Carleton, gives a somewhat late example of penance at the Cathedral, under the date 12th February, 1612 :

"Moll Cutpurse, a notorious beggar, has done penance in S. Paul's." (*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 68.)

In another letter, to the same person, he says :

"Some books of Suarez, the Jesuit, derogatory to Princes, burnt at Paul's Cross." (*Ibid.*, vol. 75.)

And again, under date 27th July, 1620, he writes :

"Popish books containing libels on Queen Elizabeth and her government, burnt in S. Paul's Churchyard." (*Ibid.*, vol. 116.)

In the *Letters of Lord George Carew* is a still more remarkable instance of penance. He is writing in November, 1617 :

"The 30 day of this monethe, the Ladie Markham, wyfe to Sir Griffithe Markham (who yett lives), for maryenge one of her servants, together with her late husband, did pennance in white sheets at Pawles crosse ; the like they must do at Yorke and ellswhere, and are fyned in 1000 *li.* How they escaped deathe (as the statute lately made* for that offence providethe) I cannott well deliver, and yett they were arraygned for itt vpon thatt statute." (*Letters, etc.*, p. 132.)

Note to page 159.

In Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata* is a view of Paul's Cross "from an original Drawing in the Pepysian Library, Cambridge." I have not seen the original drawing, and, in the absence of any definite information about it in Wilkinson, I addressed a letter to F. Pattrick, Esq., Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge, asking several questions as to its authorship and date. In the very courteous reply which Mr. Pattrick was so good as to send me, he says that the engraving in the *Londina Illustrata* appears to be a fac-simile of the Drawing ; that there is no sufficient evidence as to the person by whom or the period at which the Drawing was executed ; and that no account of the

* I Jac. I, cap. 11.

Croſſe accompanies the Drawing. All that appears to be known about it is that it forms part of the series of Drawings and Engravings gathered together by Samuel Pepys. "Pepys was the first person to collect prints and drawings in illustration of London topography. These he left to his nephew, who added to the collection, and two thick volumes therefore came to the College with the other treasures." (Wheatley's *Samuel Pepys and the World he lived in*, p. 92.)

Note to page 216.

Very various indeed were the subjects treated of in the sermons of the times. "The Bishop of London," says Chamberlain, "told his Clergy that the King had ordered them to inveigh vehemently in their sermons against women wearing broad-brimmed hats, pointed doublets, short hair, and even some of them poinards : and if pulpit admonition fail, another course will be taken." (Chamberlain to Carleton, 25th January 1620. *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 112.)

Note to page 217.

An interesting account of the removal of the images from S. Paul's Cathedral is found in Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 1 :

"The sixteenth daie of Nouember [1547] the Kinges Maiesties visitors beganne that night to take downe the roode with all the images in Poules Church, which were clene taken awaie, and by negligence of the laborers certaine persons were hurt and one flaine in the falling downe of the great croſſe in the rode loft, which the papish priestes said was the will of God for the pulling downe of the said idolls. Likwile all images in euerie parish church in London were pulled downe and broken by the commandment of the said visitors.

"The xxviith daie of November, being the first Soundaie of Aduent, preached at Poules Croſſe, Doctor Barlowe, Bishopp of Sainct Davides, where he shewed a picture of the resurrection of our Lord made with vices [moveable joints], which putt out his legges of sepulchree and bleffed with his hand, and turned his heade ; and their stoode afore the pilritt the imag of Our Ladie which they of Poules had lapped in feerecloth, which was hid in a corner of Poules Church, and found by the visitors in their visitation. And in his fermon he declared the great abhomina-

tion of idolatrie in images, with other fayned ceremonies contrarie to scripture, to the extolling of Godes glorie, and to the great compfort of the awdience. After the sermon the boyes brooke the idolls in peaces."

A little later, in May, 1548, Wriothesley records, that "Poules quire with diuers other parishes in London song all the service in English, both mattens, masse, and even-songe; and kept no masse, without some receaued the communion with the priest."

It is easy to understand that the exhibition of these mechanical figures, skilfully contrived to deceive the worshippers, must have greatly stimulated the zeal of the Reformers.

Note to page 229.

The following extracts from the Journals of the House of Commons* throw light upon two points of no little interest: for they indicate (in the words "until that Place be prepared and fitted for that Purpose") that, at the date of the Order, Paul's Cros was no longer standing; and they show the origin of the claim of the Lord Mayor to appoint Preachers at the Cros.

12th May, 1643.

Ordered, That Mr. Vassall and Mr. Ven do bring in an Ordinance to enable the Lord Mayor to appoint Preachers to preach the Sermons, given by the Charity of well-disposed People, at Paul's Cross, or elsewhere.

26th May, 1643.

Preacher in Paul's Church Yard.

Ordered, That the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London shall have power and Authority to nominate and appoint such Ministers, as shall hereafter preach in Paul's Church Yard upon the Lord's Day weekly; and that, in the Interim, until that Place be prepared and fitted for that Purpose, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen may appoint such convenient Place for such Ministers to Preach, every Lord's Day weekly, before them, as they shall think convenient: And likewise, that the Lord Mayor, for the time, may dispose of the Allowance formerly

* For which I am indebted to the courtesy of the Librarian, George Howard, Esq.

given to the Preachers at Paul's, upon such Ministers as shall be so appointed to preach before the said Lord Mayor and Aldermen, at the Place by them to be assigned, as aforesaid : Which Disposition and Appointment shall not be accounted or reputed any Breach or Violation of the Gifts or Devises of any Donor, or Person deceased ; notwithstanding any former Usage, Appointment, or Devise of any Bishop's, Donor's, or otherwise, to the contrary.

Note to page 231.

The *Charge Books* of the Cathedral, a long and very important series of volumes, extending from 1633 to 1749, contain much valuable information as to the cost of labour and the price of material. At the period indicated in the text, 1635, the following are some of the amounts paid for wages and material :

	s. d.
16 Labourers received	1 2 a day each.
1 Labourer "	1 4 "
6 Carpenters "	2 0 "
2 Apprentices "	1 10 "
6 Mafons "	2 0 "
1 Apprentice "	1 6 "
3 Bricklayers "	2 0 "
1 Plumber "	2 6 "
Stone Sawyers	$1\frac{1}{2}$ d. the inch ; and for Burford and Ketton Stone 1d. the foot.
Fir Timber,	32s. and 33s. the load.
Bricks,	12s. the thousand.
Tiles,	2s. for a hundred and a quarter.
Lead,	£12 4s. 6d. the fother.

Note to page 240.

Another passage from Chamberlain's *Letters* may well be added to those printed in the text.

19th November, 1602. " My last to you was of the fourth or fift of this present, since which time here hath ben a very dull and dead terme, or els I am quite out of the trade, which may well be, by reason of a new devised order to shut the upper doores in Powles in service time, wherby the old entercourse is cleane chaunged, and the trafficke of newes much decayed." (p. 162.)

From this letter it clearly appears that even during Divine Service the din of chattering tongues was still to be heard.

Note to page 265.

The manuscript called in the text the *Will of Henry VII.* is in reality the “Book of Penalties for non-performance of the Covenants in the Indentures between Henry VII, and the Abbot of Westminster, and others.” It is sumptuously bound in crimson velvet ; and the seals, enclosed in silver skippets, hanging by cords of purple and crimson silk and gold, are appended to it. Each skippe bears on its cover a gilt roundel with the name of the party whose seal is enclosed inscribed in finely punctured letters. The covers are decorated with silver bosses and clasps. “The first page is illuminated, red roses on gold, and portcullises on an azure field, being richly embroidered on the margin with the royal arms and supporters. In the initial letter is a miniature of Henry VII. enthroned. Before him kneel ten persons, the two prelates in front vested in scarlet copes. The Archbishop (Warham) holds a cross-staff in one hand, in the other the Book of Penalties in its crimson forel. Behind these appear, amongst others, the Abbot and monks of Westminster ; the Mayor of London, also, in a scarlet gown, furred, holding a sceptre terminating in a fleur-de-lis.” The Indenture is septipartite, and was made 16th July, 1504. The parties to it are the King ; the Archbishop of Canterbury ; the Bishop of Winchester ; John Islippe, Abbot of Westminster, and the Prior and Convent of the same place : the Dean and Canons of S. Stephen’s, Westminster ; the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul’s ; and the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of London.

The manuscript in the Cathedral Library is one of the counterparts of this document : a similar copy is in the British Museum, and the original is in the Record Office. The colours and gold of the illuminations of the S. Paul’s MS. are in perfect preservation, and the binding is remarkably beautiful.

The above notice is condensed from a full account of these manuscripts in *The Archaeological Journal*, vol. xviii. pp. 182, 278, 279.

Note to page 287.

The mysterious symbols used by Playford in his *Dancing Master* are thus explained by himself :

♂ = Man. ♂ = Woman.

Wo. = Woman. We. = Women.

— = a strain played once.

! — = a strain played twice.

S. = a single, that is, two steps, closing both feet.

D. = a double, that is, four steps forward or back, closing both feet.

Note upon the manuscript from which a *fac-simile* is given at page 49.

The manuscript from which our *fac-simile* is taken is a fine folio volume, "written on very stout vellum, in double columns, 44 lines to the page." It was "no doubt an original possession of the author, and must by him have been left among the archives of his Cathedral. It was there when Edward I. examined the treasures of the Cathedrals." Probably, it was transferred from S. Paul's to Lambeth soon after the Reformation. "It formed a part of the Archiepiscopal Library, when it was removed to Cambridge during the troubles of the Commonwealth, and was restored at the Restoration." (Professor Stubbs' *Historical Works of Ralph de Diceto*, vol. i. pp. lxxxviii-xc.) In Lambeth Library the volume still remains, notwithstanding the inscription which it contains in very clear, legible writing :

LIBER ECCLIE SANCTI PAULI LONDON.



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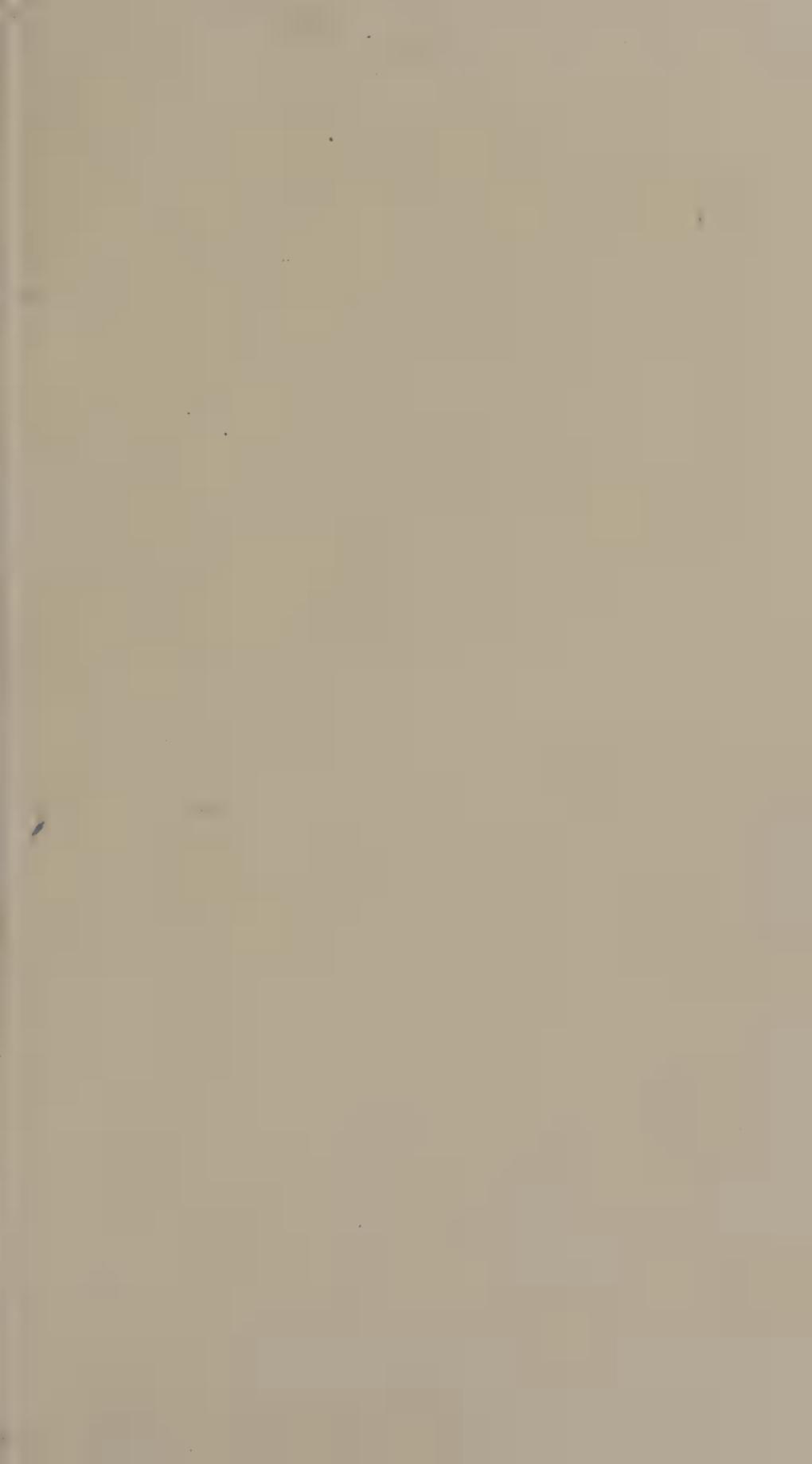
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